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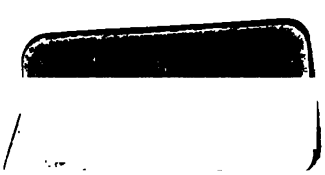
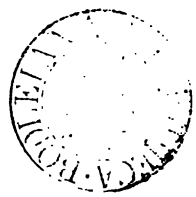


MR. DISRAELI, COLONEL RATHBORNE,

AND

THE COUNCIL OF INDIA.



A LETTER

ADDRESSED TO

The Rt. Hon. the Lord Visct. Palmerston, K.G.,
The Rt. Hon. the Lord John Russell,
The Rt. Hon. Sidney Herbert,
The Rt. Hon. C. P. Villiers,
The Rt. Hon. Sir Charles Wood, Bt., G.C.B.,
The Rt. Hon. Sir G. Cornewall Lewis, Bt.,
The Rt. Hon. Sir George Grey, Bt., G.C.B.,
The Rt. Hon. W. E. Gladstone,
The Rt. Hon. T. Milner Gibson,
The Rt. Hon. Sir James Graham, Bt., G.C.B.,
The Rt. Hon. Sir E. G. E. Bulwer Lytton, Bt.,
The Rt. Hon. S. H. Walpole,
The Rt. Hon. Sir John Pakington, Bt., G.C.B.,
The Rt. Hon. J. W. Henley,
The Rt. Hon. Gen. Peel,
Lord Henry Lennox,
John Bright, Esq.,
Richard Cobden, Esq.,
John Arthur Roebuck, Esq.,
J. B. Smith, Esq.,
Thomas Bazley, Esq.,

And the other Rt. Hon. and Hon. Members of the House of Commons,

IN EXPLANATION OF A PETITION FOR ENQUIRY,

PRESENTED FROM

COLONEL RATHBORNE, ON THE 9TH AUGUST, 1859.

(For distribution to the Members of the House of Commons.)

"That my statements should be received, in the first instance, with incredulity, can cause me no dissatisfaction. Nay, more; I think that, for the honour of human nature, statements of such a kind ought to be so received. Men ought to be slow to believe that such things can happen and happen in a christian country, the seat of almost the oldest European civilization. They ought to be disposed rather to set down my assertions to fanaticism or folly on my part, than to believe them as an over-true tale of the proceedings of a settled government. But though they ought to be thus disposed at the outset, they will not, I trust, bar their minds to the entrance of the light, however painful be the objects it may disclose."—*Letters on the State Prosecutions of the Neapolitan Government, by the* Rt. Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P.

LONDON: 1860.

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BIBLIOTHECA BODLEI

TO THE READER.

THIS work was originally printed for distribution to the Members of the House of Commons, and is now re-issued verbatim as so distributed. It was intended to illustrate and enforce the petition for inquiry, which will be found in the Appendix. Mr. Disraeli, however, having brought the matter before the public at large, by his letter to the *Star*, the restriction on the circulation was of course taken off by me; and so far as the limited number of copies at my disposal went, it was placed within the reach of those who, I thought, might take most interest in the question. Since then, frequent applications have been made for it, by persons who have only been able to form their opinion of the case from the version of it, given in Mr. Disraeli's letter. In deference therefore to the wishes thus expressed, as well as in justice to myself, the present re-issue is made; so that all, who have read Mr. Disraeli's comments on the work may be able to judge for themselves of the truth and fairness of those comments. Comments in which Lord Stanley may be assumed to have joined;—not only because Mr. Disraeli is his recognized leader and spokesman, in all such matters;—but because those comments, were given the widest currency to, by journals which he and his father, in common with Mr. Disraeli, influence; and which in their present shape were started, and have been since supported, by his and his father's, as well as his agent, Mr. Rose's, and others of the party's money.—Journals, I may remark which, while giving the fullest circulation to Mr. Disraeli's letter, carefully excluded the very brief reply to it, which the *Star* could afford me space for.

At the end of the present re-issue, I have given a SUPPLEMENT containing proofs and authorities for such parts of the narrative as Mr. Disraeli has impugned the accuracy of; and I have also added a statement of what has passed officially on the subject since the work itself was written. In this will be found some further specimens of those "*principles of honour and dispassionate equity*," which Mr. Gladstone tells us in his work on Neapolitan infamies, "*we are accustomed to perceive the very highest impersonation of*," in the ministers of the Crown of England.—What effect these new revelations may have on official minds I know not; but I shall be much surprised if the deliberate and surpassing grossness of the injustice, does not raise a feeling of strong indignation, in the breast of every one else who reads them. Well might the Great Conqueror of Scinde, my most revered Chief, say to those who surrounded his bed in his dying moments, that if his time were to come over again, he would never put himself in the way of such wrong as he had suffered by entering the public service of the country. Yet, after all, where has there been ever seen a nobler country and a more grateful people; the ingratitude, the selfishness, and the injustice are not in them, but in those who govern them.

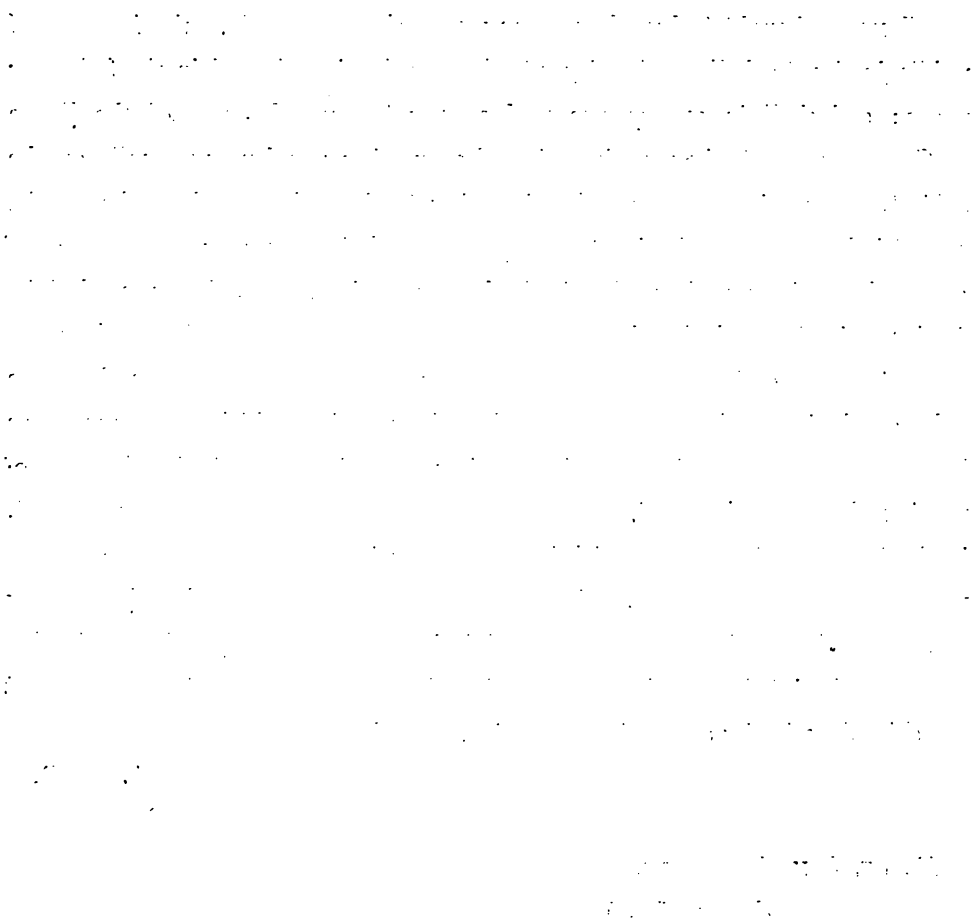
I have only to add that though the original object of the work which was to obtain redress from Parliament has failed; yet it has been amply successful in another sense, that of vindicating my character from the aspersions that had been cast upon it, in order to cover the unprincipledness, which Mr. Disraeli and his colleagues had been guilty of, in relation to the Indian question. Nor ought the picture of official morality, which is here presented, to be without its uses. Men may differ as to some points; but there is one, which the honest of all parties should concur in insisting on; and that is the perpetual exclusion from office of every one, no matter on which side the House, who has ever been stained by any act of personal dishonour.

INTRODUCTION.

I HAVE thought it due alike to my own character and to the interests of public justice, to challenge inquiry into the case that is embodied in the following pages; and shall in consequence send a copy to every Member of the House of Commons. But I have no intention of canvassing members personally on the subject, because if a sense of what is owing to themselves, and to the public, cannot induce them to take it up, any personal solicitations on my part must, of course, be entirely useless. For if the honour of the Crown, the pure administration of justice, and the character of the House of Commons, involved in the conduct of two of its leading members, are matters of indifference to them, the only conclusion to be arrived at is, that the practices which strike me as so imperatively calling for investigation, are in no way inconsistent with the code of public and personal honour in force among ministers and public men here. That, in short, the position is true which is not wanting in defenders already,—that the virtues of truth, and honesty, and fair dealing, which are as natural to this country as the wild flowers that fill our woods and hedgerows, are utterly unknown in that corrupt and tainted atmosphere which is breathed by the class that are at present the chief depositaries of political power in England.

A. B. R.

15, ST. JAMES'S SQUARE,
January 1st, 1860.



A LETTER, &c.

15, *St. James's Square,*
January 1*st*, 1860.

My Lords, Right Honourable, and Honourable Sirs,

In the year 1851, Mr. Gladstone published a couple of letters on the state prosecutions of the Neapolitan Government. They created a great sensation at the period, and have contributed as much as anything to form that public opinion so hostile to royalty and its advisers there, which has since prevailed.

The main features of the Neapolitan Government's mode of dealing with those who give umbrage to it, are, according to Mr. Gladstone's account, as iniquitous and repulsive as they well can be. He speaks of cases got up wilfully and deliberately, for the purpose of destroying the peace, the freedom, and even the life of men amongst the most upright and intelligent in the whole community. He says that the government is in bitter, cruel, as well as utterly illegal, hostility to whatever in the nation really lives and moves, and forms the mainspring of practical improvement; and he speaks of such persons as being devoted to destruction, not because they have really committed any offence, but because they are persons whom it is thought convenient to get rid of, and against whom, therefore, some charge must be found or fabricated.

The mode of proceeding, in regard to the gentlemen thus obnoxious to the Neapolitan Government, is described in very forcible language. The essential aim of the system, he tells us, is to *create* a charge. What more likely than that, smarting under insult, the accused should for a moment lose his temper, and utter some expression disparaging to the majesty of government. If he does, it goes down in the minutes against him; if he does not, but keeps his self-command, no harm is done to the great end in view. Nor do the Neapolitan ministers, according to Mr. Gladstone, hesitate to resort to the most flagitious expedients for insuring the ultimate success of their schemes of vengeance, however signally the evidence on which they may have based their hope of a conviction may break down. If it be too absurd and self-contradictory to stand even before the Neapolitan Courts, no injury befals the false assailant of the honor and character of the accused. The evidence is simply withdrawn. In any other country, he says, it would lead to inquiry, and to a prosecution for perjury, but not so there. It is rather regarded as so much effort which, through untoward circumstances, has failed. It is simply neutralized, and stands at zero. But supposing, he observes, there to remain any evidence not self-contradicted, the prisoner you will say will be able to rebut that, if false, by counter-evidence. Alas! says Mr. Gladstone, he may have counter-evidence mountains high, but he is not allowed to bring it. This he knows is hardly credible, but it is true. The very men tried when he was in Naples, named and appealed to the counter-evidence of scores and hundreds of men of all classes and professions—military, clergy, government functionaries, and the rest; but in every instance, with, he believes, one single exception, the Grand Criminal Court refused to hear it; and in that one case, the person when called, fully bore out the statement of the prisoner. Of course, he adds, the statements of the accused, however supported by the evidence of station and character, went for nothing.

The letters of Mr. Gladstone are full of other points, exhibiting the most infamous possible violation of every principle of natural justice. He speaks of an accused person praying that a witness might be examined as to a particular statement, but of course it was

not done. He tells us of a cabinet minister holding a charge over a man, but telling him that if he would only comply with his wishes, "*it should be very easily arranged.*" He observes again and again on the fact of a prisoner taking no advantage from the explosion or failure of a charge; all proceedings going on the principle that the duty of government was to prove guilt by any means, true or false; and that public justice had no interest in the acquittal of the innocent. He dwells particularly on the scandalous system pursued, of allowing men to be tried and condemned by judges personally hostile to them; he speaks of the tyrannical severity with which men are treated in case of their defeating the accusations of the government, not, indeed, as he remarks, that acquittal signifies much; and he concludes his details of these perversions of justice for the gratification of official malignity, by saying that they must have stirred up incredulity in the breast of any one accustomed, as in England, to perceive in our judges *the very highest impersonation of the principles of honour and dispassionate equity.*

The high character of Mr. Gladstone precludes the possibility of my conceiving that, in this denunciation of the misdeeds of the Neapolitan Government, he was merely playing a part; and it is equally impossible for me to suppose that the sympathy was fictitious that it aroused among all the most eminent of our public men. I cannot, therefore, imagine that any such shameless violations of *the principles of honour and dispassionate equity* would be tolerated for an instant in any British minister or his council, when dealing with a man politically hostile to them. The high offices held by those who were the objects of Mr. Gladstone's exposure, and the character for integrity that might at first sight be presumed from these, were not allowed to weigh anything in the scale against the specific acts of misconduct which he brought against them. So neither can I imagine that any rank or station, however great, would be allowed to shield from inquiry any officials against whom even a shadow of suspicion should arise of having resorted to similar perversions of justice here. A searching investigation would, I am sure, be felt by all to be imperatively required, if even a suggestion were hinted of any such practices having been resorted to, to crush a political or personal opponent by men filling offices under the British Crown. If one who had rendered eminent services to his country were made the object of accusation by those to whom the royal authority was delegated, and it were satisfactorily proved by him to be foundationless, you would hardly, as in Naples, allow the matter to go for nothing. You would feel it your duty to do what Mr. Gladstone justly denounces the Neapolitan Government for not doing; you would follow up the matter by putting the accusers themselves on their defence for the foundationless accusation they had made. You would not permit the matter simply to stand at zero, as he tells us that they do there; and so encourage the same officials again and again to renew their imputations, no matter how often refuted, and in themselves improbable, till the obnoxious individual was effectually destroyed.

You would not tolerate judicial infamies which Mr. Gladstone says, though hardly credible, are true in Naples, being enacted here. If a person against whom evidence was brought had counter-evidence to produce, you would not refuse to allow him leave to bring it. You would not see an accused person appealing to the testimony of men of all classes and professions, military, government functionaries, and the rest, yet refused to hear it; and so be guilty of a violation of justice as great as that which strikes you with such indignation, when depicted in the servants of a Foreign Crown. Still less would you allow the statements of the accused, when supported by the evidence of station and character, to go for nothing. You would not tolerate a man's taking no benefit from the explosion or failure of a charge against him; and you would estimate at their true value censures passed by men in bitter personal hostility to the accused. And if such a thing could happen in this country as a government's holding a charge over a man, while a friend of a member of that government was privately telling him, as Mr. Gladstone accuses a minister of doing at Naples, that, on certain conditions, having no relation whatever to that charge, but having a special reference to the private interests of the minister and the

government he belonged to, "*the affair would be very easily settled; but that unless some powerful friendly influence were put in force in his favour, he would not get much justice,*" then I think that your indignation, and the indignation of the public, would know no bounds. Nor less, I am sure, would be the indignation of our Gracious Queen, at finding the powers entrusted by her to her ministers for the welfare of her people, wearing the semblance of having been prostituted by them, to such ends as these. And if, further, you had it proved to you, that such a circumstance had been officially reported to one of Her Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, the colleague of that minister, but that he had failed to institute that inquiry into the matter, which such a case imperatively demanded; then, I think, that no rank, or station, or political influence, or private feeling, would be allowed by you for an instant to stand in the way of a searching investigation into an affair that touched so nearly the interests of public justice, the character of our ministers, and the honour of the Crown.

Nor as Mr. Gladstone did not consider absolute legal proof of all his allegations an essential preliminary to the advancement of them; so neither would you consider absolute legal proof of connection between the agent and the minister, as an essential preliminary to action in such a case. The allegation of facts sufficient to give even a colourable suspicion of the possibility of such gross misconduct, on the part of a Queen's minister, taken in connection with his colleague's failure, to institute any inquiry into these facts when officially reported to him, would, I think, be deemed by you ample grounds for the fullest and most searching inquiry that could be made. You would hold that a matter so nearly touching the honour of the Crown, as well as the welfare of the people, should be effectually cleared up. No sophistry, no expostulation would be allowed by you to turn you from this resolve; for you would consider it intolerable that there should be even a chance of its being true, that infamies which have made the Government of Naples a theme of universal execration, had been imitated, at no matter how humble a distance, by the official advisers of the Crown of England. A complete imitation of them, to be sure, would be here impossible, because whatever may be the will of a minister, he has not the power of inflicting bodily torture, and must put his persecution into another form. But, as Mr. Gladstone says, there are mental tortures quite as great as any corporeal, and, indeed, far more so to any man of sensitive and honourable mind. Besides, he carefully guards against his case against the Neapolitan Government being at all affected, either by the number of the sufferers, or the actual extent of the suffering they endure. These, he rightly says, are secondary features in the affair. The gross unfairness, and the gross illegality of the proceedings under which honest men are sacrificed to official enmity, are what constitute, in his eyes, the gravamen of the offence. These it is that have raised up such an amount of indignation and abhorrence in his and in every other honest breast.

This being so, I presume that I may rely on obtaining your attention to the following narrative of events, that have actually happened under the late administration of the Earl of Derby here. The witness in this case is not a foreigner, who might possibly be misled as to the nature of the system he was depicting; he is a man who passed in the public service nearly thirty years. He does not testify to what has occurred to others, whose statements might perchance have been exaggerated; he speaks of what he knows of his own personal knowledge, as having occurred to himself. He does not publish his statements in a distant country, where, even if his assertions were erroneous, they might be uttered with impunity; he makes them on the spot, under that full sense of responsibility which every man must entertain, who knows that those whose conduct he is seeking to bring to the bar of public inquiry, are among the most wealthy, the most powerful, and the most influential in the country; and against whom, therefore, however righteous his cause, he can only contend at the most overwhelming disadvantage, and at the most appalling odds. There is not one word that I shall state, which I am not prepared to confirm on oath; and the oath thus tendered is that of a man whose veracity is beyond impeachment. It is the oath of a man

who can produce the highest testimonials as to honour, integrity, and rare ability, from all he has ever served under or been connected with; and who was but the other day selected by the colleague of the very men whose conduct he calls in question for one of the highest and most honourable of the secondary offices under the Crown. Nay more, he can refer to documentary and oral evidence in addition for every assertion he shall make; evidence so irrefragable, that he defies the ingenuity of man to shake it, if only the inquiry be granted which he seeks, with so much justice, to obtain.

But perhaps the best proof of the equity of this demand on his part will be the influence which will be brought to bear, and which has been already brought to bear, to stifle all inquiry, and prevent the matter being ever put to the test I seek. There will be the usual bluster about my opponents standing on too high ground to be affected by my assertions; as if exposures of the grossest misconduct were not of frequent occurrence in regard to men previously holding the highest positions in the religious, commercial, and official world. There will be the never-failing cant about detriment to the public interests; as if the real detriment to them did not consist in the screening of official delinquency, and not in the exposure and punishment of it wherever shown to exist. There will, in short, be every kind of objection adduced, in order to stave off investigation, and every sort of difficulty thrown in the way; but every such objection and every such difficulty will be but an additional argument in my favour, because it is not innocence that shuns investigation, but only conscious guilt. Finally, it will be said that parliament is not the fittest tribunal for arriving at the truth in such matters; in which case I am quite willing that the inquiry shall be made before any other tribunal, provided only it be impartial and competent, that the Government may select. Indeed, as to the part of the matter which most nearly concerns me, I offered to Lord Stanley to leave the decision to those whose opinions I should have thought that no government could demur to—the law officers of the crown. For these could have had no possible difficulty in discerning at a glance whether those principles of "*honour and dispassionate equity*" had been attended to in the case, which, Mr. Gladstone tells us, we are accustomed to see the highest impersonation of in our own great officials; and the absence of which among the high officials of Naples, he so justly imputes to them as the most disgraceful of crimes.

To attempt under these circumstances to stave off the inquiry I solicit would be useless, because the effect of that would be necessarily as damaging as the worst effect that could ensue from an investigation in proving most conclusively that all that I have advanced is true. To those affected by my statements, no doubt even that would be preferable to the establishment of them in a formal manner as the result of such inquiry as I propose; but whatever may be their interests and wishes, there are other points to be considered, every one of which is entitled to the greatest weight. There is the public opinion of the country and of Europe, which no government can defy with impunity, let its professions or pretensions be what they may. There is the character of the legislature to be considered, which would be hopelessly compromised if it were to allow acts to pass unchallenged, such as it will be my duty to describe. Last, but not least, there is the honour of the Crown itself to be looked to, which could not fail to be affected by a refusal to investigate, in the fullest and most searching manner, any matter affording even the remotest suspicion of misconduct on the part of the official advisers of the Queen. In short, look at the affair in what light you will, I think you must perceive that there is but one really honourable and effective mode of dealing with it, and that is to cause the inquiry I seek for to be instituted, agreeably to the prayer of my petition presented on the 9th of August last. Whether by Parliament itself, or by any other tribunal that may be thought preferable, is, I would repeat, immaterial to me; provided only that it be a competent and an impartial one, alike willing and able to elicit the truth.

Being totally unknown to nearly all in the House of Commons, it is necessary that I should, as briefly as possible, state who it is that solicits your attention. I am the son, then,

of a man belonging to the middle classes—my grandfather having been a beneficed clergyman of the Church of Ireland. His fathers, again, had filled positions of honour and credit there, from the time of the first of them crossing over from Lancashire in the reign of James the Second; by a party of whose officers he was set upon and assassinated, during that monarch's invasion of Ireland in the endeavour to recover his crown. From early associations, my mind was pretty much divided between the claims of letters, politics, and arms. For my father was an officer of the Royal Navy, of conspicuous bravery, and who had served his sovereign with as much distinction as the rank of captain, in which he died, allowed. He had been in many general actions, as well as engagements of lesser consequence; he had lost his eye, and had had his shoulder shot away, while contributing as first lieutenant of a line-of-battle-ship to one of our greatest naval victories. He had had presented to him a sword of some value from the Patriotic Fund, at Lloyd's, for his share, in the action under Sir Richard Strachan, which put the finishing blow to the destruction, by Nelson at Trafalgar, of the fleets of France; and on the remodelling of the Order of the Bath, in 1815, he was made one of the first companions of it, when the honour was much more sparingly bestowed, and thought much more of a distinction than it is at present. On the other hand, politics and political literature drew me towards them by the example ever present to my mind, of three among my nearest relatives and connections who had built themselves up a name in these departments of public service entirely by their own unaided talents. One of these, Mr. Blake, my mother's cousin, was Chief Remembrancer of Ireland, appointed to the office by the Marquis Wellesley; and was, I have no doubt, known to many of the older members of your Honourable House. The second, my first cousin, by my father's side, the late Mr. Croker, must also have been well known to all who were members of the House before the passing of the Reform Bill, as well as to many who have entered it since. Last, not least, was the great Edmund Burke, nearly allied to my mother, who had spent many of her earlier days under his roof; and my veneration for whose character and writings first imbued me with those sentiments of hostility to the Company's rule, which, long before I had had any difference with its officials or directors, filled my breast.

At the early age of sixteen I was appointed a cadet, not by any director of the company, but by Lord Ellenborough, the then President of the Board of Control; and the encouragement given by Lord William Bentinck, the then Governor-General to the public discussion of Indian questions, had, as was not unnatural, a considerable influence on my studies and pursuits. Accordingly, about the time when Sir Charles Trevelyan, under the signature of Indophilus, was discussing problems of Indian policy on the Eastern side of India, I was contributing my quota on the Western to the same good cause; and was one of the first to call the public attention to the question of native education, and to the necessary connection between the poverty of the country and the system of land tenures that there prevailed. After twenty-five years of advocacy on my part, the principles I contended for, in the face of almost universal opposition, have at last become established, by a consent as universal, as the only sound basis on which any hope of real improvement in India can rest. And Lord Stanley, by a recent despatch, has given authority to the Governor-General to carry them into practical effect. As the despatch, and the principles it embodied, were little else than an appropriation from my writings, (just as the proclamation for which he gained so much credit was a mere embodiment of what I had suggested to his colleague, Mr. Disraeli, who had of course communicated it to him,) he might, one would suppose, have made some sort of acknowledgment of the source from which he had gained his ideas; even though this had established the fact that the only acts of his official existence, which have not proved a bungle and a failure, were the product, not of his own, but of another's brain. That I have since quarrelled with him and his government, or rather they with me, ought, I should have supposed, to have been but an additional reason for the performance of this mere act of justice, in the eyes of any really honourable man. Among friends

it is of no importance how the account of reciprocal services may stand. But a more than ordinary punctiliousness in discharging every obligation of this kind, towards those whom we have quarrelled with, I had always understood to be the very Alpha and Omega of the code of honour; till taught by Lord Stanley and Mr. Disraeli that, on the contrary, it furnished an ample justification for omitting this altogether, and was at once the shortest and the cheapest mode of ridding themselves for ever of the debt.

My early labours in India soon opened to me the path to civil employment, had I chosen to seek it, the late Sir Robert Grant being then Governor of Bombay; a man of the highest enlightenment, and whose early death was a most severe loss to India, though he had hardly a fitting field assigned him for his great talents, and equally great virtues, in the minor Government of Bombay. I preferred, however, the comparative leisure of regimental duty; till it was broken in upon by being called on to act as adjutant of my corps. Shortly afterwards I left for England, on sick certificate, for three years; and soon after my return to India was appointed to an office on the military staff. In the meantime, the Caubul outbreak had occurred; all India was in a panic; and, as is usual in a panic, all India or the greater part of it discussed, in a very unmanly manner, the event. Some went so far as to look on India as lost to us, while others came to the conclusion that the Affghans were a race too terrible for native troops to cope with; and that to attempt to retrieve our honour by a signal chastisement of them, would be a mad and hopeless task. I therefore wrote and published, under a fictitious signature, some letters on the subject, wherein the military errors we had committed were shown conclusively to have been the cause, if not of the outbreak, at least of the rapid triumph of the rebels over us, as soon as the flame burst forth. Errors more than sufficient without seeking for other causes, to account for all the mishaps that had befallen the force. Under proper management, I showed that there was not the slightest fear of our being able to deal as successfully with the Affghans, as the disciplined troops of England must ever deal with the hordes of an Asiatic race.

These letters attracted the attention of the late Sir Charles Napier, who commanded the division I then was serving in, and they were very generally attributed to his pen. How highly he thought of them may be gathered from the following passages taken from his journals, as published in his *Life* by his brother, the historian of the Peninsular War,—"April 13th, 1842. The *Bombay* and *Poonah* world give me the credit for writing the letters of Lucius Junius on this war. I am not the author, and would not deny it if I were so, for they are capital." And again, shortly afterwards, he writes in his Journal as follows,—"I have read Lucius Junius. His letter is admirable. Who is he? Every word is true, and every word proves him to be a thorough soldier; were I Lord Ellenborough (then Governor-General) I would find him out and send him with a high command to the North-West."

The flattering opinion thus expressed of me by the late Sir Charles Napier, when I was wholly unknown to him, except through the columns of a public journal, did not decrease upon the acquaintance, to which the knowledge of my being the author of those letters, at his own request, led. On the contrary, a warm friendship sprang up between us, which only terminated with his life; a friendship which, while it has been the cause, is at the same time, the best refutation, of the libels to which I have been subjected, at the hands of the late East India Company and its tools in the Western Presidency. Accordingly, on Sir Charles being appointed to the political and military command in Scinde, and instructed to demand a cession of territory from the Ameers, he at once fixed on me for the civil charge of the district to be so brought under our rule. His intimation of this to me, which had been entirely unsolicited, was made in the most flattering terms; and the following extract is taken from his letter regarding me to Lord Ellenborough, recommending me for the appointment, as recorded in the *Life*:—"December 9th, 1842. It will be advisable to *place a magistrate* at Roree, with a small police; and I will take the liberty to recommend

as magistrate an officer named Rathborne, a Lieutenant in the 24th Regiment Native Infantry. With him I have scarcely any acquaintance, but he appears to me to be a man of great ability far beyond those one generally meets with. He has a mind of no ordinary power."

Sir William Napier says in the *Life*, that on the 10th of February, his brother "again tells Lord Ellenborough he has met with few men of Lieutenant Rathborne's calibre, who is as unassuming as he is able; that he knows not if he is '*a splendid Persian*,' or '*has passed in the languages*,' which seem to be the acmé of genius and knowledge in India, but he would serve well in any post."

The Ameers of Scinde, however, after signing the treaty, made a treacherous attack on the Residency at Hydrabad, which as soon as it was evacuated by the small party of British there, they sacked and burned to the ground. The battle of Meeanee was the instant result of this outrageous proceeding; and shortly afterwards followed that of Hydrabad, in which I had the honour to participate; and for which I should have received the brevet rank of major and the Companionship of the Bath accorded to all mentioned, as I was, in the despatches, had not the fact of my being only a lieutenant precluded me from receiving them at the time. The brevet was afterwards given me in 1855 with ante-date to the day of December 1845, following that on which I was promoted to captain regimentally, and which of course brought with it the back rank of lieutenant-colonel from the date of the great brevet in 1854. But the Companionship of the Bath, though my undoubted right under the circumstances, if a subject can be said to have a right under any circumstances to the honours of the crown, was refused me by the Directors in terms which Sir William Napier who thought me entitled to *demand* it, said "*smelt of hatred*," and against which he advised me at the time to appeal.

After the battle of Hydrabad, Scinde was annexed by Lord Ellenborough; and in lieu of being made magistrate of the district of Roree which was to have been ceded to us under the treaty, I was made collector and magistrate of the whole of the new territory on the Left Bank of the Indus, from it northern boundary, where it met the territory of our ally, Meer Ali Morad, to the sea, and eastward to the confines of the Rajpootana states.

Such was the district I was set by Sir Charles to organize and attach to our rule; my aids at the outset being *one* European assistant who had never been in Scinde before, and *one* native clerk. The records of the former government I had to search for and lay hold of as I could, for Sir Charles had as much on his hands of other work, as half-a-dozen ordinary mortals could have got through. All the principal nobles had lost relatives and connections in the battles, whose deaths they might be supposed to be eager to avenge. There were large bodies of Beloochees still in arms throughout the country, and Meer Shere Mahomed the Meerpoor chief had proclaimed his intention of never giving in. Meantime intrigues were going on in Bombay among our own people for the restoration of the Ameers; and the consequence was, that the high officials of the late government mostly held aloof from me, in the fear of being compromised by their having taken service under us, if their former sovereigns should return. Dismal tales were told of the utter hopelessness of any attempt to bring the wild and fanatic tribes of Scinde into peaceful subjection to us. Clerks for the public offices were not procurable, for they refused at first to come on any terms to a country where they were told they would probably get their throats cut; and of which it is difficult to say whether the people or the climate were painted in the blacker hues. Even menial servants could hardly be found to go there, though they got double wages; and officers never moved the smallest distance without their arms. I believe I was the only man that went about habitually without weapons of any kind, at that early period of the Conquest; and this I only did because my duties necessarily exposed me so continuously that no precaution of that kind could have saved my life, had there been any determined to take it; and it was as well therefore to ignore a danger which I was powerless to avert.

This was the state of things when I assumed charge of a district under Sir Charles,

between twenty and thirty thousand square miles in extent; embracing in its area the ancient capital, the seats of nearly all the nobility, the lands and villages of their retainers, in short, nearly all from whom difficulty and danger were to be apprehended, and on the proper management of whom the success of our rule and the gaining the affections of our subjects there, must so entirely depend. It is easy to cry up the services of those who came to the province years afterwards when order had been everywhere established, when institutions had been framed for it and brought into thorough working order, and when every office was filled with men perfectly instructed in their duties, and trained to carry out on the instant every wish or command. It is easy to do this, and forget the almost superhuman labours, carried on through sickness and every possible kind of obstacle, of myself and of the other pioneers in this great work. But the ingratitude of governments will not alter facts; and every one of common sense must see that there is as much difference between the engineer who maintains the permanent way of a railroad or even extends its branches, and the Stephenson who first created it; as there is between him, whose ability to take advantage of the weak sides of men in power, has enabled him to obtain a government where law and order have been established; and those who went forth into the wilderness with nothing but their hands and brains to help them, and there built up the vast edifice, to which the others have at best but put the completing touch. Why even the Punjaub Commission borrowed several of its best measures as well as men from Scinde.

How I performed the Herculean task thus put upon me,—how far I fulfilled the high expectations and satisfied the rigid requirements of my great chief, the following notices of me in the journals published in the *Life*, by his brother, Sir William Napier, fully demonstrate. On the 30th of July, 1843, after I had been just four months at work under him, he writes in his journal as follows: "All my troops are now in cantonments, and I am relieved from much labour. My staff is now excellent—my nephew William, Mc Murdo, &c. Then Brown, Rathborne, Pope, Blenkins, and young Nixon are all excellent; the four first, rare fellows indeed in their respective departments." Sir William adds, "these were his soldier civilians; for only to men who had aided him in the Conquest would he give posts; hence the fury of the Bombay faction."

A little later Sir Charles is found writing, "My soldier civilians work like horses—Brown, Rathborne, Pope—all capital."

In November 1846, when Sir Charles had had more than four years' and a half experience of me, I find him in a letter to his brother, Sir William, quoted in the *Life*, saying, "Rathborne, who is hot in argument, but a noble-hearted and noble-headed fellow, says I must stay two years more or evil will befall."

In the same year he submitted a Memoir on Scinde to Lord Broughton, then President of the Board of Control, and in this, which is given in the *Life* by Sir William, I find him speaking of me in connection with his labours as follows: "I thus attached the nobles to an order of things, giving them advantages not before enjoyed; and I acquired great knowledge of their feelings from the Collectors, especially from Captain Rathborne, the Collector of Hydrabad, who lives on intimate terms with the most powerful of them, and is an officer of great ability."

In a letter to his brother, Sir William, written in December 1848, and given in the *Life*, he puts forth his ideas of the measures that should be adopted for the safety of India, then in great peril from the outbreak in the Punjaub and the failure of our forces before Mooltan. His scheme, one of the vastest ever contemplated, embraced the abolition of the Madras and Bombay Presidencies; the seizure and absorption of the Nizam's territory, which had shown symptoms of disorder and disaffection to us; and the establishment of one great government out of the whole, with the head quarters at Hydrabad in the Deccan, the present capital of the Nizam. He then speaks of the instruments that would be required to carry out this grand and comprehensive plan of domination as follows: "As to men we should have some trouble; but there are plenty of fish in the sea, and we should pull

good ones out. The worst would be those of high rank; but there are good men, such as Douglas, Pennycuik, Roberts, Rathborne, Goldney, &c. The best men I left in Scinde were Peat, Brown, Goldney, and Rathborne; the two first are dead, and Goldney is going away."

In 1849, Sir Charles writing to some person in India, whose name is not given, is quoted in the *Life*, as ridiculing the cant about "*peculiar qualifications*," so often put forth on behalf of the civilians in India, and says, "I will convince him (Lord Dalhousie) that the Scinde Revenue is better collected by Major Goldney and Captain Rathborne, than by any civil servant in Bengal, Madras, or Bombay; at least, those who are good judges of both have told me so, and I believe it capable of proof."

In July, writing to his brother, Sir William Napier, about something that had appeared in one of the Bombay papers, I find him quoted in the *Life*, as saying of me, "Rathborne is the man alluded to by the *Bombay Times*, a man of hot temper, but of very high honour, and all persons respect his good heart and great abilities."

In September 1851, I find him forwarding to a friend of his, a letter of mine to him, calling attention to some important points which had been wholly overlooked, regarding one of the most considerable branches of the Indian Revenue, and who returned it with the following comments:—"I return you, with best thanks, Captain Rathborne's statement, I have studied it carefully, and fully coincide in the correctness of his reasoning. I have also submitted it for the judgment of our Commissioner of Customs, one of the soundest financiers in the country, and he fully agrees with Captain Rathborne."

A little while after my return home from India, Lord Ellenborough wrote to me in the following terms upon the same subject. "I very much regret that any circumstances should have led to your resigning your appointment in Scinde, where I know, from Sir Charles Napier, that your services have been of eminent advantage to the country."

In 1856, Sir William Napier writing to me about my claims to the honour of the Bath, spoke as follows of my public services under his deceased brother:—"I know that you will not beg for honours through the Directors, but you may *demand* the Companionship as a right, on the grounds you mentioned in your letter to me. My letter to Lord Ellenborough (not then in office) was a strong representation of the continual acknowledgments of your merits, which I find in my brother's correspondence, with something of my own added."

From Sir Charles Napier's own letters to me, I could have produced a bushel of extracts conveying similar sentiments regarding me, had I not, when on the point of dying as I supposed, destroyed the whole of them, for fear of their falling into the hands of the unscrupulous men then in office in Bombay, as in that event they of course would have done. But his last three, written but a short time before he was struck down by his fatal illness, never to rise again, would show any one who could doubt it, after the above extracts from the *Life*, and from the letters of Lord Ellenborough and his brother, what his sentiments regarding me were; sentiments then founded on an experience of ten long years. In one of these, alluding to his wish to have me examined before the Committee of the House of Lords, on India in 1853, and to some objections raised on the score of the expense of summoning me from Egypt, where I then was, he says, "My dear Rathborne, the above letter I have just received from Lord Ellenborough. I do hope they will summon you. I should think that if they did, and pay your passage from Egypt and back, you would not ask them for your living while at home. How niggardly all extravagant governments are in small matters,—for a hundred pounds you would tell them what is worth five hundred. If you like, let me have your instructions, whether, if they decline calling you because of the expense, you would like to come home on your own. I do wish to see you examined." And he concluded his letter in the following affectionate terms:—"God bless you, and believe me always yours most sincerely, C. J. Napier."

Of course I wrote in reply, saying, that I should be happy to pay all my expenses, both

for passage and living, so as not to entail a farthing of cost on the State for my examination; but my examination, under any circumstances, was about the last thing that would have suited the book of Leadenhall Street, and so the thing fell to the ground.

In answer to this reply, I find him telling me on the 3rd of March, 1853, "I will immediately send your letter to Lord Ellenborough, and hope to hear something in time for the mail, which goes on the 7th, if not, the fault will not rest with me. I am very desirous you should be summoned. I am ordered not to write, so God bless you; the moment I get Lord Ellenborough's answer I will send it off."

Such are the testimonies regarding me, scattered here and there quite incidentally, in the letters and journals published in the *Life*, by Sir William, of this great man; and so strongly corroborated by Lord Ellenborough, by Sir William, and by his own letters to myself. From these, as I said before, I might have extracted a hundred such, had I not felt it my duty, though a most painful one, under the circumstances, to destroy them. And I have not the least doubt that Sir William Napier could have produced as many more from the vast stores of journals and letters in his possession; it being obvious that he must have felt himself compelled to be content with a very small selection from these, to bring the *Life* within the compass of the four volumes to which it extends. And be it remembered that he who thus testified to my qualifications, if in some respects the most indulgent, was in others the most exacting of chiefs; and one under whom an officer who united not the highest qualifications for his duties, with the most earnest and conscientious zeal in the performance of them, would have very soon found that he was not the right man in the right place. It may suit the interests of the Directors, and those whom they have been able to purchase over to their interests out of the vast means of corruption at their disposal, to decry the leading lieutenant, of this great soldier and administrator, of whom he was year after year making record in his private letters and private journals, in terms so high, so honourable, and so laudatory as these. But ignoble attempts to obscure noble actions, generally fail in the long run; and I have no doubt that sooner or later the eyes of my Sovereign will be opened to the almost superhuman public labours performed by me, as lieutenant to the late Sir Charles Napier, in Scinde.

Indeed, I can safely say that, with the exception of the Bombay faction, so often alluded to by Sir Charles in his journals and letters, and the Directors whose tools they were, (men who appear to have considered themselves at liberty to put on record what they pleased, no matter how untruthful or improbable, against the native princes they desired to rob, or the public servants they wished to ruin), I have never met with anything but the most flattering tributes, from all who have been acquainted with my public labours from my boyhood upwards. The papers I wrote, when a young ensign, on the land revenue system of India, were attributed to one of the highest and ablest civilians of the Presidency; a proof of the intimate knowledge of that system which they displayed. The letters which I wrote on the subject of native education, I was asked years after to collect and revise by an eminent philanthropist, who had no personal acquaintance with me; and who desired, as he told me, nothing better than to publish and widely circulate, at his own expense, a series of papers which he was pleased to think did me the highest honour, as well as being calculated to be productive of the greatest public good. This was after the authorship was known; but before that, I was told that the late Sir Robert Grant, the then enlightened Governor of the Presidency, thought so highly of them, that I had only to proclaim myself the writer to find the path open to his highest favour.

My first acquaintance with Sir Charles Napier arose, as I have shown, out of similar public labours. Just before I left India, the additional papers I published on the land revenue there, attracted great attention, on the part of all who were advocates of a more enlightened system. Shortly after my arrival at home, I wrote a long review on an Indian subject, at the request of an editor of great and varied talent; and the opinion he expressed of it was, that it was one of the very best productions in that class of literature that had

ever come under his eye. Indeed, I have never had to do with such labours without receiving the warmest as well as the most spontaneous tributes of applause from men, whose ability to judge of such efforts it would be impossible to dispute. The historian of the Peninsular War for instance, writes me, on one occasion,—"Your article must have cost you great research and great care." On another, he says,—"It is a very powerful and well composed article, ——— could never turn out such a one, and the difference will be seen." On another, he writes,—"I have just read your ——— article. You told me Edmund Burke was related to you; he may have spoken or written a more poetical and impassioned essay than yours, but never one more statesmanlike, more clear, more powerfully impressive; your arguments and facts go like the hammer round the anchor in the song, and every blow rings of true metal.—It must make an impression on thinking men." On another, he writes,—"Since I wrote last, I have got and read your article in the ———. I do not dwell upon the lucid and forcible defence it presents; though that is very gratifying to me; it is what I expected from your true friendship for the maligned man (the late Sir Charles Napier); and of the same nature is your letter sent to ———, which I read. What I want to express is my admiration for the beauty of your composition: to me it appears a model of fine English writing, and worth a hundred of the laboured sparkling compositions that the public is so fond of. I do not know a finer example of pure flowing English. There is no labour to produce effect—no striving at strength of expression; yet it is so complete, so homogeneous that, as a whole, it has far greater strength than a more vivid composition. All ———, and ———, who was here, have come to the same conclusion, and have the same admiration."

High as are these tributes of applause, paid so generously and so spontaneously from time to time to my public labours, by the great Historian of the Peninsular War, I have received others almost equally high from other men to whom I had till then been quite unknown. In July 1857, a member of Lord Palmerston's former cabinet, whom in the whole course of my life I had never seen even, wrote to the editor of a periodical, to which I was at that time contributing some articles on Indian subjects, expressing his pleasure in becoming a subscriber to the work, and the greatest interest with which he had read the articles on India contained in it; which he said were evidently written by a person thoroughly informed upon the subject. Adding, that it gave him great pleasure to be told, he hoped truly, that the author was a gentleman for whose family he entertained a sincere regard, though he had not had the good fortune to make the personal acquaintance of Colonel Rathborne. And again, in the following month, he wrote to myself hoping to have the advantage, as he was pleased very kindly to call it, of making my acquaintance when he returned to town; and obtaining from me some information with which he said my mind was well stored regarding India, and the present calamities in that country.

Such was the testimony tendered me by a member of Lord Palmerston's last cabinet, as to the ability and knowledge of India, which my writings displayed, and that quite spontaneously, as I have before observed. For I was, as I have said, wholly unknown to him personally; I had never even met him, or written a line to him, in the whole course of my existence; and it was impossible, therefore, that he could have been actuated by any other motive, than that which he professed, in the very flattering as well as kindly observations which he made.

The advantage, if it were one, of being known to me, which a member of Lord Palmerston's last cabinet had thus intimated to me his intention of soliciting, as Sir Charles Napier had solicited it, entirely in consequence of the opinion he had formed of me from my public writings, Mr. Disraeli, the leader of the Derbyites in the House of Commons, had already solicited and obtained, and this in the same manner he had been led to do solely from his high appreciation of my public writings. However painful and injurious to me have been the results of this, which I shall ever consider the most unfortunate event that ever happened to me, (for what can be more unfortunate than the alliance of a man,

such as Horace in his fourth satire so emphatically bids the Romans to beware of,) yet it was, in one respect at least, the most flattering to me that ever did or ever could take place. For my knowledge of that gentleman, if the details which I am about to give in this letter shall leave him entitled to that honourable designation, has at least shown me one thing; which is, that unless he had really entertained that very high opinion of my abilities and thorough knowledge of India, which he so frequently expressed to me, and unless he had really thought that my services in consequence might be proportionately useful to himself, and the party he led in the House of Commons, he never would have wasted his breath or ink on any such unprofitable professions. Mr. Disraeli's competence as a judge of literary effort, it would of course be impossible to doubt, whatever else one may think of him; and the language he used at this time in regard to my public labours, was in entire accordance with that of Sir William Napier, and the others to whom I have referred.

His verbal praises I shall not quote, because he might, for what I know, think fit to deny them; I shall strictly confine myself to what is contained in his letters to me. In one of these he begins by saying that my last was "a capital article." In another he says, "I was very much pleased indeed with your article. It sustained, and more than sustained, its excellent predecessor." In another he says, "I approve very much of the ideas sketched out by you in your last letter." In another he says, "I cannot permit a post to pass without expressing to you how greatly I admire, and how entirely I approve, your labours this week: they are pre-eminent." In another he says, "When I presume to send you any observations, they are merely suggestions offered with the utmost deference to your judgment." And again, "It would have been a great mistake not to have commented as you have done, most ably, on," &c., &c. And again, "Your article is admirable. You have completely developed the train of thought which I touched on very imperfectly," &c., &c. And again, "I think your article, both as respects knowledge, completeness of view, and style, one of the best, if not the best of leading articles I know." And again, "I was very much pleased with your article. I think the catalogue of necessaries for the army very striking. It will find its way into every paper." And again, "I have only just been able to glance at the ———, with the exception of your interesting article." And again, "I thought your remarks yesterday admirable; and you just hit the right nail on the head," &c., &c. And again, "It seems to me, but I jot down these remarks in sincere deference to your judgment," &c., &c. And again, "I read your article in the ——— *Review* on my way down here with the utmost gratification, not merely, I hope, or even principally because you have spoken so kindly of my efforts; but because I feel persuaded that a general and elaborate view of the question in the form there presented, will greatly aid and enforce those more frequent lucubrations which I so much admire, and which I think have produced a beneficial effect on public opinion." Finally, at the time of the Cardwell crisis, the last occasion on which I took up my pen for the Derbyites, I received a note from Mr. Philip Rose, which he concluded by saying, "I hope you know how much we all feel indebted for your most able articles on Indian affairs."

I could multiply such instances of applause bestowed on my public labours *ad infinitum* if I so desired; but I have said enough, it seems to me, to establish what it was my object to establish, however disagreeable from its apparent egotism the task may be; that excepting by the Directors and the Bombay faction, whose behaviour to Sir Charles Napier and his friends was so notorious, I have never had my title to rank in the very highest class of public labourers, called in question. On the contrary, I have received the highest and most perfectly spontaneous tributes to my services at various times, from various persons holding the highest positions in politics, in letters, and in arms; and the necessary deduction to be made from this, it must be impossible for any to pass over, who would desire to arrive at a just conclusion regarding the case, which I shall have in the sequel to present. That deduction is, that the whole of these men, the greatest soldier after the Duke of Wellington, besides being one of the greatest of our Indian Administrators, one of the

greatest if not the greatest of our historians, one of the ablest members of the last Cabinet of Lord Palmerston, and the leader of the opposition, as well as Chancellor of the Exchequer under Lord Derby's Administration, together with a host of lesser lights in every walk of life; publishers, editors, and even working printers, must all have been a set of frantic lunatics whose testimony is to be utterly disregarded; or that the libels on me of the Directors and their tools have no foundation. No one in his senses will believe that a man who has drawn forth such commendations for his labours in connection with India, from men so high, so able, and so various as these, can have been an incompetent administrator of the office, that he was set by Sir Charles Napier to create and organize on the Conquest of Scinde; an office which he filled so entirely to that great man's satisfaction and to the satisfaction of his successor, Mr. Pringle, who has had honesty enough, though he occasionally differed with me, to add his own testimony to that of my former chief.

Who after all were these Directors, and what were their special pretensions to set up as judges of any man's qualifications? There was not one of them hardly, that apart from his office had ever been heard of; and this they obtained not by any proved fitness for it, but as the result of a successful and probably corrupt canvass of those who thought it a useful plan for getting freight and contracts and appointments in connection with India, to invest a part of their money in India stock. What their own capacity to govern was, the late calamities in India have attested; and the petitions that will probably flood Parliament from India in the course of next session, will probably explain. They and their Bombay allies showed a good deal of personal malice against Sir Charles and his friends; but that, instead of being a reason for accepting them as fitting judges in cases in which these were concerned, tends only to show with additional force, how utterly unworthy of credit are the cavils which they have raised. Who, for instance, could attach any weight to the verdict of men who could act in the manner which the following passages, taken at random out of a hundred such, from the journals and letters of Sir Charles, as given in the *Life*, disclose.

"The civil servants at Bombay are watching this Government like the Harpies of the Ancients; and the moment I go, the whole will be changed into an enormously expensive Civil Government; innumerable branches will extend from the foul stem of the Bombay-tree. All the sons, nephews, and friends of the Bombay civil servants will be provided for, and each idle head of an establishment will have what they call an establishment." And again: "The Directors are now aiming blows at me by injuring officers who are useful and favourites with me. This is detestably mean and shameful." And again: "Mr. Pringle behaves well in Scinde, but he is overpowered by that chap, Willoughby, who is rapidly overturning all my works step by step." And again, writing to a friend, he says: "Run no risk, for I need not tell you, Lord Ellenborough's friends get no mercy from his enemies."

Then again, after Sir Charles was dead, a scene took place at the India House, in which the Directors sought to cast discredit on his memory, in a manner at once so unfair and so disgraceful as to call forth the following observations in a letter from Lord Ellenborough to Sir William, given by the latter in the *Life*: "I do not remember a scene more disgraceful to the actors in it than that which seems to have taken place at the India House the other day. Had a minister in Parliament acted as the chairman did, there would have been a cry of indignation and disgust from both sides the House."

But what need of ransacking the volumes of Sir William Napier for proofs of that injustice and that malignity which was so signally exposed by Mr. Henry Austin Bruce, Sir William Codrington, and Mr. Roebuck, in the House of Commons on the 15th of August, 1857. The question arose on a motion for papers by Mr. Bruce, in consequence of a return embodying the most infamous falsehoods regarding Sir Charles's government in Scinde, having been made by the Directors to the House of Commons. Who that either heard or read the speeches made on that occasion will ever forget them, especially Mr. Roebuck's; who, pointing to the only Director in Parliament that had the brass to face the

matter out, said, among other things, as follows:—"The memory of Sir Charles Napier was the property of the British Nation; and it was the duty of the Legislature not to suffer it to be frittered away by the slanderous imputations of a set of official vermin who always lived upon the defamation of great men." "They (the Directors) hated him because he towered above them, and showed, by the comparison, their inferiority to himself; and the government of India showed they hated that great man whose memory was so foully slandered."

Will Mr. Gladstone, or any one that agrees with him in thinking it infamous that men should be sacrificed at Naples, on the judgment of those who are personally hostile to them, hold it unreasonable in me, to protest against my character being made dependent on the verdict of such unscrupulous partizans as these? More especially when that verdict is so entirely opposed to the overwhelming evidence which I have produced, and which I shall produce.

Then as to the Bombay faction, the only thing to be wondered at, is that a President of the India Board should have been found thoughtless enough to put Scinde under that government after all that had occurred. While it was under the Calcutta government, everything had gone on harmoniously, and the highest enconiums had been passed by the Governor-General and the Council there on all engaged in the administration of the Province. Whatever annoyance Sir Charles had ever met with, had been received from the Bombay people; who, having no direct authority over him themselves, were unceasing in their attacks on him in the columns of the public journals, and in their reports, professedly on general subjects, to the India House at home. The leading civilians in Bombay had, besides, all joined in a memorial to the Home Government, praying for Sir Charles's recall, on the ground of a passage regarding civilians in India, which purported to be on his authority, and was embodied in his brother, Sir William's, book, *The Conquest of Scinde*. It was not half so bad as was to be found page after page regarding them, in a book by one of the most honest of their body that ever lived, the Honourable Frederick Shore; but that they seemed to be ignorant of, till I called the notice of the public to the fact, in the discussions which ensued. Of course the memorial met with the fate it merited from the India Board; but that only made the signers of it more savage still. Of the personal hostility of Mr. Willoughby, the leading member of council, to Sir Charles, all must be aware who have read the *Life*. One of the Secretaries had lost the Residentship in Cutch in 1843 through Sir Charles's representation, who thought the office ought to be filled by a military man; and though he was, I believe, too honourable to allow himself knowingly to be swayed by this, still it must, to a certain extent, have influenced his feelings towards Sir Charles and his friends. His under-secretary, again, was one of the most violent partizans there. But all were outdone by Mr. Goldsmid, a man who exhibited all that utter unscrupulousness, unhappily too common among that people from whom he, like Mr. Disraeli, sprang; and who may be fairly said to have bullied Sir Charles Napier's successor, Mr. Pringle, out of Scinde, so making way there for his bosom friend and close ally, the late Commissioner Sir Bartle, then Mr., Frere.

Under no other government than that of the East India Company could such a man as Mr. Goldsmid have ever held office at all, after the gross misconduct which he had displayed. For he had been tried before the Supreme Court for killing an unfortunate native, brought before him magisterially, and whose death had closely followed upon a series of assaults upon him by Mr. Goldsmid, of the most atrocious as well as disgusting kind. The pamphlet published on the subject, by a member of the Bombay Civil Service, describes him as having beaten the man cruelly over the body with a bridle; causing the urine to be thrust down his throat, which the poor wretch had discharged involuntarily during the infliction; and finally dragging him along the ground with his own hands, by a rope fastened round his heels, to the place of confinement, to which the man was then too exhausted to proceed in the ordinary way. Under this series of brutalities it seems the

man died. It was shown, however, I believe, that he was in the last stage of a mortal illness when these cruelties were inflicted on him, so Mr. Goldsmid escaped; though, as regards character, one would think that this made the matter worse for him even than before. For bad as it would have been to have caused the death of a healthy human being by such cruelties, it seems infinitely more infamous to have perpetrated them on a dying man. However, beyond removal from the magistracy for a period, he suffered nothing; and, at the time in question, was Secretary to the Government in the revenue department. In that office, though the utter failure of the Enam Commission, and the vast frauds in the Poona Dufter, prove his own incompetence, he had the power to put on record any misrepresentations that he pleased, in the name of the Governor, regarding the late Sir Charles Napier, and his friends and assistants, and system in Scinde.

It may be thought hardly possible that such things could really be, considering the loud professions by the Directors of their entire ignorance as well as innocence of such atrocities, when all Europe was struck with horror at the publication of the *Madras Torture Report*. But the facts regarding Mr. Goldsmid must, of course, have been all on record at the India House; yet interest outweighed every other consideration; and not only was he not dismissed their service by them, but they did not interfere with his being afterwards raised to one of the highest and most responsible offices in Bombay. Indeed, in every case of the kind it was much the same. There was the case of a Member of Council accused of the grossest misconduct; of a judge charged with having prostituted the powers of his office, to the purpose of compelling female suitors in his Court to submit to his desires; and of another judge charged with corruption through the agency of the woman that he kept. But in each case inquiry was staved off, though I have always understood that the acts charged were matters of common notoriety, believed in by all. Then again who among the older Members of the House can forget Sir James Outram's dismissal from his post of Resident of Baroda, for the disclosures of wide-spread corruption made in his well-known *Kutput Report*, which was afterwards printed by order of the House of Commons? Great as was his interest, both in India and at the India House, he was taught the stern lesson, that under the Company there was one sin that outweighed every service: the sin of lifting up the veil that hid the infamies which everywhere, from first to last, disgraced its rule. His military and political chief, Sir Charles Napier, he had been allowed, nay more, encouraged, to attack in a most improper and unprecedented manner; but the moment he touched the corruptions, which it was his duty, as Resident, to expose, he found himself dismissed from his post, and reduced from nearly four thousand a year, to a regimental captain's pay.

I myself was President of a committee in October, 1849, to inquire into the mortality in the jail at Hydrabad, which had risen to a frightful extent within the preceding two years. It was proved before this committee by unimpeachable evidence, that the native superintendent had taken large bribes from the jail provision contractor, to connive at his cheating the prisoners both in the quantity and the quality of the food supplied to them. That damaged and rotten flour had been served out to these poor wretches, instead of the best and highest priced article for which the contractor had been paid; and that even in serving out this stuff to them, the contractor in consideration of the bribes so paid by him to the superintendent, had been allowed to cheat them constantly, both in weight and quantity. That the prisoners had several times complained of this, but that the only result of their complaints was, instead of inquiry, a brutal flogging. That the native superintendent had made a corrupt traffic with the men under sentence of penal servitude, enforcing labour, or remitting it, or increasing it, according as the convicts, or their relatives, gave or refused the douceur that in each case was, through an agent of his, solicited. That the sick, the well, the dead, the dying, had been all chained down together at night on the floor of a confined room, without bedding of any kind, or means of moving to comply with the necessities of nature; the scene in the morning being too disgusting for me to describe.

And finally, that through these accumulated infamies and horrors, forty-three out of every hundred of the prisoners confined, had died in the preceding year, and fifty-eight out of every hundred in the year towards the close of which the Committee was appointed! In other words, that a number of prisoners equal to the whole number in the jail at any one time, had been killed off by this ruffian, within the space of two years, by the process in question; and which any one who chooses to refer to the Scinde Blue Book of August 1854, may find detailed at pages 553 to 557, in the minutes of the Governor and Council on the Committee's Report.

I defy Mr. Gladstone to produce anything from Naples to rival this case; indeed, he allows that, though the cells there were beastly, the bread was sound. Yet what was the result? The Lieutenant of police, who had charge of the jail, and to whose implicit reliance on his native subordinate, and neglect to inquire into the prisoners' complaints, and the causes of their condition, so much of the evil was attributed, was removed from his appointment, and shelved for the moment, it is true; but he soon obtained a similar and equally well-paid post in another district. Then again, though the subordinate had been so guilty, I found it impossible to get him put upon his trial. He was certainly removed from government employ, but even this was only done after I had received a rap over the knuckles for my pertinacity in insisting on his being brought to justice for his crimes. And this, though the governor could not help expressing entire concurrence in my view of the man's guilt, in his minute on the subject, "I must remark," said he, "that great occasion has been given to Captain Rathborne for the manifestation of dissatisfaction."—"In communicating to Captain Rathborne the censure passed upon him for the generally disrespectful tone of his correspondence" (pertinacity in insisting on the punishment of wrong doers is always held to be disrespectul there), "I would observe that, nevertheless, the government could not but agree with him that the Kotwal ought to have been committed for trial." And again: "Independently of the evidence submitted on a former occasion, and recorded before the jail committee which bore directly on those charges, it was difficult to rise from a perusal of the proceedings now submitted, without participating in the conviction of the Kotwal's corruption, so strongly expressed by Captain Rathborne, which made the total neglect with which his urgent remonstrances were treated the more to be regretted." And again: "In the face of all this, and of Captain Rathborne's repeated and urgent representations of the notoriety of the Kotwal's corrruption, of which he, as the magistrate, was competent to form a correct opinion, was this officer restored to his situation, and parties who had brought other charges against him, which were supported by evidence stronger than that already recapitulated, were made prisoners, and put on their trial for having made those charges!"

The note of admiration at the close of the last sentence is the governor's, not mine. Could there be a more forcible picture of the obstacles thrown in the way of those, who would bring official infamy in India, in whatever walk, to justice; the hostility they have to encounter; and the dangers they have to face? It chanced fortunately for me, that the then commissioner in Scinde was even more obnoxious to the government of Bombay than I was myself, owing to the honest part he had taken in reference to Sir Charles Napier's government, when first appointed to succeed him in Scinde. Otherwise, it is probable enough that he would have been supported, as his successor was on a somewhat similar occasion; when my equally repeated, and equally urgent representations of the notoriety of the offenders misconduct, were all refused attention to, though it was a notoriety which, as the magistrate of the district, I was equally competent to form an opinion of in that case as well. And though my representations were supported equally by evidence, which, to use the words of the governor in this case, it was difficult for any one to rise from the perusal of, without coming to precisely the same conclusion regarding the case that I had done.

But why should I multiply instances of what must be perfectly well known to every member of the House of Commons, that has ever paid the least attention to Indian affairs. Mr. Otway, in his speech on Mr. Blackett's motion in July, 1854, very plainly told the House

that a large part of the misgovernment of India was due to the manner in which civilians were supported by their brethren in the several governments, whether right or wrong, as well as by the Indian authorities at home. And even so lately as last session, one of the witnesses before the Colonization Committee, Mr. Ralph Moore, in reply to a question whether civilians, misconducting themselves, were not at once suspended and put on their trial, told the committee that this was not the case, for that many of the immediate relations of the authorities in Leadenhall Street had carried on a course of very disgraceful conduct for some time, yet were merely moved in consequence from one district to another. (Vide *Report*, p. 263). If the same disgraceful system is to be persisted in under her Majesty's direct rule, it will be well for the nation to understand this; and it is the determination to force that question as speedily as possible to a decisive issue, that has, as much as anything, influenced me in the course that I am now adopting, of bringing these matters under the immediate notice of every member of the House of Commons.

At the end of 1853 I came home, and almost immediately furnished Sir William Napier with the paper on the subject of his late brother's government, which he has embodied in his little work, *Wellington and Napier*, published by Mr. Westerton, of St. George's Place. Soon after this, propositions were made me in more than one quarter, to lend my aid in England to the cause of Indian progress and reform, of which I had been so staunch a supporter in India for so many years. The result was, a literary connection with the then recently-established weekly organ of the Derbyite party, who at that time were loud in their professions of an adherence to similar views.

Lord Stanley, at the dinner to which, with all the new India Council, he was invited by the Fishmongers' Company, on Michaelmas-day twelvemonth, sought to cover the grossest act of political tergiversation that perhaps ever was perpetrated—the then new alliance of the Derbyite Government with the Directors of the old East India Company—in the language that follows:—"I do not wish to revive or even allude to past controversies; but this I may be permitted to state, that throughout those parliamentary discussions which ended in the transfer of the Indian Government from the East India Company to the Executive of this country, that change was uniformly represented by me, and by those colleagues with whom I acted, as not being in the nature of a penal proceeding—as not involving any sentence of condemnation against the administration of that great Company, whose century of empire has come to an end."

Now of course it is impossible for me to say whether this statement may not cover some ingenious quibble, by which an assertion, wholly untrue in spirit, may be shewn to be true in terms. But in the sense in which I suppose Lord Stanley must have meant it to be understood by the public,—in the sense, namely, that in those past controversies which he affected to deplore, the part taken by him and his colleagues had not been quite as hostile to the Company, as that taken by the most determined of their opponents, be they whom they might—in the sense that he and the colleagues he acted with had not, for five long years of opposition, done everything possible to destroy that Company, and to hold them up to public odium as the most corrupt, the most selfish, and the most incompetent body that ever misgoverned a mighty empire—in the sense that on every parliamentary demonstration against them, originating in what quarter it might, until the introduction of the first abolition bill, they had not united heart and soul with the Company's bitterest foes (and even on that occasion the party were divided, Lord Stanley voting for the first reading, while Mr. Disraeli was most careful in guarding himself from any suspicion of sympathy with the Company in the part he took)—in the sense that, during those five years, they did not use every weapon to the uttermost against the Company that the Constitution allows, whether of vote, or tongue, or pen; if Lord Stanley meant his words at the Fishmongers' dinner to be understood in that sense, then I have no hesitation in characterizing them, as the grossest violation of the truth ever perpetrated by a minister of the crown. And I have no doubt whatever, that those who peruse this narrative through, will admit that I have proved the charge, &

indeed, any proof could be wanted, of what must be perfectly well known without it, to all the leading members of the house. Nay, more: I shall show that, since the completion of that arrangement, which Lord Stanley was thus defending, the leading man among those colleagues has not hesitated to avow, if the assurance made me is to be believed, that the opinions which the party professed in opposition had remained unchanged; and that the arrangement itself had not been made on those constitutional and honourable grounds which Lord Stanley assigned for it; but on others of a wholly different nature, which it will be my province in due course to explain.

There can be no doubt to be sure that when Lord Derby was in power in 1852, the language used by himself and his Indian minister, Mr. Herries, in introducing the resolutions for the Indian committees in both houses, was as favourable to the Company as it could desire. As favourable as if they had been primed by Leadenhall Street itself for the occasion, as no doubt they were. But there can be equally little doubt, that as soon as the party were out of office again, all this was changed; and when Sir Charles Wood brought in his India bill in 1853, they united in the most strenuous opposition to it, with the Company's avowedly bitterest enemies, Mr. Blackett, Mr. Otway, Mr. J. G. Phillimore, Mr. Danby Seymour, Mr. Cobden, Mr. Milner Gibson, and Mr. Bright.

It were needless to embody here, all that Lord Stanley, Mr. Disraeli, and the others said on that occasion; as it is to be found by any one who chooses to look for it, *in Hansard*, and besides will be in the recollection of all who were then members of the House of Commons. Suffice it to observe, that the language used by the Derbyite leaders regarding the Company, was precisely opposite to that which had been held regarding it by Lord Derby and Mr. Herries in the preceding year. Every point that had been then selected for praise, was now singled out for especial reprobation. Their nepotism—the aversion of their subjects to their rule—their neglect of all the most obvious duties of a government—their rapacity—their selfishness—the unsatisfactory state of their finances—and their neglect of public works, were dwelled on most forcibly by Lord Stanley. While their constant wars—constant deficits—no education—few public works—mal-administration of justice—chronic misgovernment—and the consequent deterioration of the country and degradation of the people—were the topics on which Mr. Disraeli chiefly enlarged. Both, on these grounds, opposed the renewal of the Company's lease of power, without the fullest previous enquiry into the causes of their frightful mis-government, for which Lord Stanley said the Company was then on its trial, and which was acknowledged by all.

The language of their Indian Reform allies was of course of the same tenor, and in support of their united charges against the Company they gave a united vote; Mr. Disraeli, Lord Stanley, Mr. Baillie, Mr. G. A. Hamilton, Sir William Jolliffe, Lord Henry Lennox, Sir Bulwer Lytton, Lord John Manners, Lord Naas, Sir John Pakington, Lord Chelmsford, Mr. Walpole, and Colonel Taylor, going into the same lobby with Mr. Blackett, Mr. Otway, Mr. J. G. Phillimore, Mr. Danby Seymour, Mr. Cobden, Mr. Milner Gibson, and Mr. Bright. Indeed the conduct of the Derbyites on the occasion, presented so marked a contrast to that exhibited by them on the very same question in the previous year, that Lord John Russell openly charged them with gross tergiversation, a charge which Mr. Herries, who now voted against them, to a certain extent confirmed. But Mr. Disraeli assured the house in reply, that their language, so complimentary to the Company when in office in the preceding session, had never been meant to indicate that the Company's lease of power was to be renewed, without the most searching inquiry into the allegations against it; and he stated himself to be further authorized by the Earl of Derby to pledge his word to that effect. Of course so clear and public a declaration of the Derbyite leaders in both houses, taken in connection with their recent conduct, was, if not entirely satisfactory as to the past, at least sufficiently decisive as to the future, to entitle them to be looked on thenceforth as avowed foes to the Company, and equally avowed adherents of the cause of *Indian Reform*.

It was in the spring following this demonstration in the House of Commons, that my connection with the party commenced, as contributor of the reviews and leading articles on Indian subjects to their newly-established weekly organ. An organ the entire identification of which with the chiefs of the party, may be presumed from the following facts:—That it was started by subscription among them; that its financial arrangements were in the hands of Mr. Philip Rose, their well-known agent;—that the political superintendence of it was in the hands of Mr. Disraeli, the party's leader in the House of Commons, who might be properly styled its editor in chief; and that it received contributions from Lord Stanley, among others, whom it concerns, not the present case to name; besides occasional instructions from him for the editor s guidance, on his father Lord Derby's part. While to show the feeling that then animated the Derbyites on this great question, I may observe, that my introduction was the act of the man who in all England was most conspicuous for his hostility to the Company; and who plainly stated the Directors' entire removal from power, to be one of his chief aims and objects, in the arrangement he proposed. The other was to put an end to that system of spoliation, annexation, and disregard of rights and justice everywhere, which so strongly characterized Lord Dalhousie's gubernatorial reign. I, too, before commencing my labours, went over the whole question with Mr. Disraeli's subordinate, so as to leave no possibility of mistake about the matter; expressly asking whether I might rely on their adhering to their then views, in spite of the influences that would be brought to bear on them, as otherwise it would be impossible for me to go on further with the affair. But nothing could be more satisfactory than the assurances which I received from him on this head: and so it was agreed that I should set to work at once. Perhaps it may be as well to remark, that my services were to be entirely gratuitous, as far as any pecuniary recompense was concerned. I on my part was to bring my talents and intimate knowledge of India to the service of the Derbyites; they on their's were to repay me for my labours by their fidelity to the cause. A fidelity which it was clear to me, in the then state of parties, must, if honestly adhered to by them, insure its ultimate triumph.

Under these conditions I commenced my labours; and if I had been one of the paid staff of the paper, they could not have been more conscientiously and more unremittingly performed. And though my name may not then have been known to Mr. Disraeli, it was to Mr. Rose, and nothing could be more frequent than the expressions of Mr. Disraeli's satisfaction that were conveyed to me, at the articles on India, which week after week appeared. Nor I believe did the result fail to secure the advantages to the party which had been anticipated—in increasing the circulation of the party organ; establishing for it and the party generally, a degree of authority, to which it had previously made no pretension, on Indian affairs; and attracting towards it much of that good-will on the part of the India Reformers and independent Liberals, which stood it in such stead in after-times. Nor was the effect less, I believe, in producing gradually that change in public opinion, which became afterwards so marked, on the subject of the misgovernment of India by the Directors, and of the resumption and annexation policy of Lord Dalhousie; as well as those financial measures of his, against which scarcely a voice was raised at the time I speak of, but which have terminated so disastrously to the country since.

While such was the course adopted by the party, in the press at this time, the conduct was in complete accordance with it, which they pursued in the House of Commons. On the motion for a Commission of Inquiry to be sent to Madras, introduced by the late Mr. Blackett in July, 1854, every one of the party that was present gave his support to it by his vote. Yet nothing could be more damaging to the Company, and more entirely condemnatory of its government, than that motion was, unless it were the language used in support of it by Mr. Blackett and his friends; language which, however, was afterwards more than justified by the atrocities disclosed in the Madras Torture Report.

It is unnecessary to transfer to my pages all that was said regarding the Company by the

supporters of the motion of Mr. Blackett on this occasion. Suffice it to note that, among other things, they declared that its government was a mass of corruption, injustice, and extortion, which had reduced the people almost to a state of beggary—that it was a system of intolerable oppression, antagonistic alike to the prosperity and happiness of the natives and the real interests of this country—that the picture drawn of the state of the people by one of the Company's own leading servants was perfectly appalling. That even the most favourably situated among them were prostrate mentally and physically, pressed down by debt and destitution, and exhibited a dead level of squalid pauperism, misery, and starvation. That the condition of the people of India was a perfect disgrace to this country, and to every party who had ever had anything to do with India. That the native servants of the Company might not be all perfect; but that there were black sheep among their European servants, and their delinquencies were not unfrequently screened by the government at home. That there was not a farmer in England who did not care more for his cattle than the Company cared for the human beings under their charge. That their revenue, far exceeding their tenants' means, was extracted from them by torture. That in securing this, the Company's first object, the laws were habitually violated. That their government presented a spectacle that was a disgrace to human nature. That they left the grievances of their subjects not merely unredressed, but uninquired into. That they had been described by a distinguished historian as "a body deaf to mercy and insensible to shame." And finally, this abominable state of things was attributed in a considerable degree to the support which the civilians uniformly received from their superiors, and which made them virtually irresponsible; there being, it was said, a mutual compact among the members of that class, which defeats all complaints against them, though complaints are often made and well-founded.

Such was the language used regarding the Company by the several speakers in behalf of Mr. Blackett's motion; language which all the Derbyites present gave their support and assent to in the clearest and most unmistakeable manner, by walking into the lobby in a body, with the utterers of it, without one word of deprecation or qualification of it, in any shape. Mr. Disraeli, Sir John Pakington, Mr. G. A. Hamilton, Mr. Henley, Colonel Taylor, Sir William Jolliffe, Lord Naas, Mr. Napier, and Mr. Whiteside, thus gave the most emphatic approval they could to it; and mustered, side by side, in the division with Mr. Blackett, Mr. Bright, Mr. Danby Seymour, Mr. Otway, Mr. J. G. Phillimore, and the other habitual assailants of the Company, leagued together for its downfall, in the Association for promoting Indian Reform.

Nor was their conduct different on the next occasion, on which, if I remember rightly, an Indian question engaged the attention of the House of Commons. I refer to the Nuwab of Surat Treaty Bill. The object of this was to upset a decision of the Company, which it had repeatedly refused to alter; and to the maintenance of which it attached the greatest importance, as a reversal would have been tantamount to a vote of marked want of confidence, alike in its competence, and its honesty, in the execution of its trust. The subject was not one that afforded much room for eloquent declamation; but all was done that the case admitted of, to show how utterly unfit the occupants of Leadenhall Street were to wield the enormous powers which they possessed. Yet so eager were the Derbyites to join in the condemnation of them, that a special whip was made by them for the occasion; and the result was that the Directors, after a most ignominious exhibition, were beaten on the division, by 213 to 28. Among the hostile majority, were Mr. Seymour Fitzgerald, Sir J. Yarde Buller (now Lord Churston), Mr. G. A. Hamilton, Sir William Jolliffe, Lord Henry Lennox, Mr. Napier, Sir John Pakington, Sir Fitzroy Kelly, and Colonel Taylor. Mr. Disraeli was accidentally absent from the division; but was to have voted with the majority, had he been present when the division took place.—Still, however, the action of the party in the House was not so forward on the question as I had hoped to see it; and I had more than once spoken of abandoning my labours in connection with them. But I was *earnestly* pressed not to do so, on the ground of the high estimation in which I was told

those labours were held by the leaders; and the certainty that the day was not far distant, when the whole Indian question would be taken up by them in Parliament, in the spirit in which I wrote.

Such was the state of affairs regarding the Indian question, in the Derbyite camp, up to the time when Lord Dalhousie returned to England. Then, notwithstanding the previous assurances made to me, on the faith of which I had rendered my services gratuitously to them for above two years,—and notwithstanding all their public acts and professions in Parliament, which might have been supposed to be irrevocably binding on honourable men,—they turned round at once, to worship what then appeared, in the eyes of so many, to be the rising political sun. For the time had not yet arrived when the bubble of his administration in India was so disastrously to burst; the Oude annexation, in spite of the vaticinations of the opposers of it, appeared to be so far successful; and his financial policy, denounced at the outset by the far-seeing, had not yet broken down. In short, as is usual on such occasions, the warnings of the wise and the honest were neglected, in the blaze of rank and wealth, and apparent triumph. It was intimated to me, accordingly, that the Derbyites had made their peace with him; and that all his annexations and other acts of administration, which they had so loudly condemned through their organ, had been condoned: including, of course, the annexation of Oude. Their ardent sympathy with the poor oppressed people of India, had done its work in bringing the Marquis to their feet; and nothing that could wound his susceptibilities was thenceforth to appear in the party print. As to the Directors, who had just voted him his pension, it was said, that they had many friends among the party too; so the peace made with him was to include them as well. Of course, under these circumstances, the pension which was subject to the veto of Parliament, and which the Derbyites might have opposed, was unquestioned there; and both sides, as far as I could learn, were as delighted with the bargain as it was possible to be.

Astounded, as well I might be, at conduct so faithless towards the public, towards India, and towards myself, I made a strong remonstrance with the editor, showing how calamitous to them, as a party, must be the issue of a proceeding like this. He seemed to regret the matter as much as I did; saying, he was sure that it would prove most detrimental to the connection, setting every higher consideration aside. But he added, that he could not help it; he had no choice but to comply with the instructions of his employers, and on this point, they were most explicit. For Lord Dalhousie had had an interview with Lord Derby, and expressed great respect for him; and Lord Stanley had intimated to him, the editor, in consequence, from his father, the change in the party's bearing on the subject that was to be thenceforth made.

Of course, I at once threw up all connection with the paper, and the party it belonged to. I had been striving for principles, which I knew to be the only ones that could accord with the honour and interests either of England or of India; and when those principles were thus abandoned by the Derbyites, I had no desire to continue any longer in their ranks. But disgusted with their tergiversation, and foretelling how soon they would see their folly, I went down to seek repose and rest at the sea-side. I did not, however, take any steps in hostility to them; for, as regards the personal part of the matter, my dealings had only been with their agent, and I thought it was just possible that he might have gone further than he was warranted, in making to me the assurances he had made. While, as to the public part of the question, I knew that their desertion of the cause could not then retard it for an instant; as the signs of the storm were then clearly visible to me, that was so soon to bring the whole fabric toppling down.

So passed the year 1856 away; and with the spring of 1857 the Derbyites, who had expected to reap such vast advantages from taking up with Dalhousieism and Leadenhall Street, began to find, as I had foretold, that they had made a grand mistake. They saw, in short, that while turning, as they thought, from the losing to the winning side, they had done precisely the reverse; for the cause they had forsaken was one which events were now

bringing rapidly into the ascendant; while that which they had bartered it for, was being as rapidly abandoned, by almost every one free to make a choice. A communication was accordingly made to me by the gentleman then in charge of their organ, to whom I was well known; and I was solicited again to resume the pen in connection with them, as I need fear no further departures, by them, from their former principles on the Indian question, they being now quite alive to the error they had made. It was impossible for me, under these circumstances, to refuse compliance with this request; for no *public* act had been done by them to compromise themselves during their brief apostacy; as, fortunately, Parliament had not been sitting during the greater portion of the time. There was nothing, therefore, to prevent their again taking up the question in their former spirit; and it was clear to me that, in aiding them to do so, I should be performing a great public good. At the same time, I knew that as the proposal would never have been made me, unless the reverting to the old policy had had the entire approval of the chiefs; so I gave those chiefs credit for too much sense, to compromise themselves in such a manner as they of course must do, if they exhibited any further chops and changes on this great question.

As if to make assurance doubly sure, an event took place at this juncture, which seemed to render any future drawing back on the part of the Derbyites quite impossible. This was a meeting at the rooms of the Society of Arts, presided over by Mr. Bazley, ex-chairman of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, and editor of the late Mr. Mackay, the Manchester cotton commissioner's, book; a gentleman, now a member of your honourable house, and whose hostility to the Company had been most conspicuous, as well as his labours on behalf of India reform. The arrangements were made by the secretary of the India Reform Association, Mr. John Dickinson, jun., from whom I received my ticket; and whom I warmly congratulated on what I thought must be the necessary result of such a meeting, as soon as the affair was over. While the business of the evening was, to hear a paper on the subject of cotton supply, read by Mr. J. B. Smith, the member for Stockport, another leading India reformer; in which the annexation policy of Lord Dalhousie, and the gross and shameless misgovernment of India by the Directors, were reprobated in the severest possible terms. In short a stronger, a more unmistakeable, a more pronounced demonstration against them it would be impossible to conceive. Throughout the discussion, the opinions of those present regarding their mode of governing India, were expressed in the most hostile language. The people were said to be plundered and oppressed by a system of the most extortionate taxation. To enforce the exorbitant exactions of the Company, torture had been resorted to, and even women had been tortured in a manner that could not be mentioned. The administration of justice in the Company's courts was in the hands of persons utterly incompetent. There was a total absence in them of law and justice. And, finally, after a great deal of other similar matter, it was stated that we kept a hundred and fifty millions of human beings in India groaning under burthens and oppressions, which rendered it doubtful whether their condition was not worse than the slavery we condemn in others.

I need not go farther into the Member for Stockport's statements, to show that it would have been quite impossible for proceedings to have been more hostile to the Company, and more entirely condemnatory of their administration of the affairs of India, than those which took place at the rooms of the Society of Arts, on this occasion. Yet not only were those proceedings countenanced by the presence of two of the leading members of Lord Derby's previous and subsequent governments, Sir John Pakington and Lord Stanley himself; but as if to mark in the most public and emphatic manner their entire approval of all the sentiments that Mr. Smith had given utterance to, Lord Stanley proposed, and Sir John Pakington seconded, the vote of thanks to him for what they described as "*his very valuable and instructive paper;*" and at the same time they ventured to "*express a hope that the very valuable and instructive paper which they had heard read, would be published*

and widely circulated." A hope in which they were gratified, by the India Reform Society, the Directors' most persevering and uncompromising opponents, who printed and circulated Mr. Smith's paper to the extent of several thousand copies at the society's expense. I may add, that Sir John Pakington in his speech, said that it would be impossible to defer any longer taking up the question in Parliament; in what sense, after such a demonstration, it was of course very easy for the India reformers present to gather. While Lord Stanley, on his part, gave point to Mr. Smith's paper, by telling the meeting that "*some years ago he was in Ceylon, and there had gone abroad an idea that the island was to be annexed to the territories of the Company, and he very well recollected the alarm and apprehension with which that idea was received.*"

Was it possible for me to suppose that the Derbyites were not determined to adhere thenceforth to their former India reform professions, when the private assurances to me of their agent, were confirmed by so public and pronounced a demonstration by the son of their premier, and so leading a member of his cabinet as Sir John Pakington had been? If they meant nothing by all this, they should have done nothing, but abstained altogether from any participation in a public meeting of the kind. But the fact is, they knew perfectly well what they were about, and the deductions which the India reformers and independent liberals would draw from their conduct on the occasion. They knew that it would effect precisely the object they anticipated from it, of gaining further support in quarters in which they were then especially desirous of conciliating it; while, at the same time, it would prepare the way for their assuming the lead, on what it was clear, would soon be the most prominent, as well as the most popular question, that could be desired for utilization by party men. I do not blame them for this; there was nothing dishonourable in it, provided only they were sincere. It is in their subsequent betrayal of the cause, for their personal advantage that their dishonour lies.

Under these circumstances, I again lent my aid to the party, in the same manner as before; and almost immediately afterwards, the uneasy rumours that had been gathering strength with every successive mail from India, were brought to a climax, by the news that the whole Bengal army was up. Then, of course, Dalhousieism and Leadenhall Street sank to ever so much below zero; while those who, like myself, had so long and so clearly predicted the ruinous consequences of the policy they had been pursuing, came to be looked on as the only sound judges upon Indian affairs. Mr. Disraeli saw in this, no doubt, the prospect of great advantage for himself and his party, and was of course only too glad to escape the Dalhousie and Leadenhall Street entanglement of the previous year. So he sent his friend, Lord Henry Lennox, to arrange with the gentleman who then conducted the party paper, for an interview with me on the ensuing Sunday, and it took place accordingly at his house, at Grosvenor Gate. He received me most cordially, and was profuse in his expressions of admiration for my writings; he said he saw at once when the mutiny broke out that I was the man for the occasion: he lamented greatly that I should have been led to discontinue my labours in the previous year; but at the same time, he hoped that the public might not, amid other matters, have noticed this, so as to interfere in any way with the position, which the party had now determined to take up on the subject of Indian affairs. He expressed to me his entire agreement with me on every point advocated by me in the party paper; and on none more decidedly than on the necessity of getting rid of the Company and its Directors, "*whose corrupt influences*" (to quote a letter of his to me about the period), he said, "*nothing but national calamity would counteract.*" Indeed, he exhibited then, and always afterwards, the greatest contempt for the Directors personally as well as politically; and more particularly for two who happened to be members of his club, and a third who was in Parliament, and had recently been made the subject of a witticism by one of the leading literary characters of the day.

As was natural, I was very much pleased at seeing the principles I advocated, in so fair a way of being triumphant, and gave him all the aid I could, or that he required. The

whole of the materials of his Indian speech of the 27th of July in that year were supplied by me; a speech which did so much to elevate him in public opinion as an authority upon India; and to the singular accuracy of the statements contained in which, regarding that country, the highest testimony was borne by two independent Indian members of the House. He afterwards, indeed, more than once, spoke of it to me as *our* speech; in allusion to the delivery being his, while the matter had been chiefly supplied by myself. During his preparation of it, and afterwards till he attained office, I was frequently in attendance on him; and when not so, was generally engaged in writing for the party, or aiding others in the preparation of the matter regarding India that was to appear. And though I was not very well, and should have been glad to be able to leave town in search of repose, I remained at my post, and made myself a perfect slave to the interests of himself and his connection throughout the whole of the remainder of that year. The India question was the question of the day; Parliament being up, the whole party-working of it with the public fell upon me; and I had besides to convey to Mr. Disraeli my view of the crisis at every successive phase of it; and to explain the probable issue of each successive move in it, whether on our own part or on the rebels', as telegram after telegram came in.

As Mr. Disraeli has repeatedly acknowledged the marvellous exactness with which my anticipations were, in every instance, verified, as well as the entire accuracy of every point of information with which I supplied him, he cannot say that I failed him in the least throughout the whole of this trying period. Indeed, in the earlier part of this paper, I have quoted some of the numerous tributes of obligation, admiration, and entire approval of my services that were then paid me by him. I may add that it was owing to the advice I then gave him, and which was subsequently acted on by himself and his colleagues when in office, that they got credit for the only merit which Lord Derby claimed for them in connection with India, at the Liverpool banquet of the 29th of October last. I allude to the amnesty proclamation, which tended to restore peace to India even more than the exertions of our armies; though these ought to be borne in honourable remembrance, in all future time. When people avail themselves so largely of the fruits of others' brains, and get such great and general credit in consequence, the least, it seems to me, that they could do, would be to make some public acknowledgment of the source, to which they are indebted for their ideas. But if it can gratify my Lords and their Right Honourable Colleagues to strut about in plumage borrowed from myself, I can have no objection to their so bedecking themselves. They may do so without any fear of reprisals, for I shall certainly never dream of borrowing an idea from them. Happily the fact I have mentioned is known to others besides themselves and me; as I might show by the letter that was written to me, by a friend who was privy to it, the instant that the proclamation appeared.

Thus was the battle carried on against the Government and the Company, as actively as it was possible for men to carry it. Mr. Disraeli was pleased to speak of me at that time as a *lion*, and it was at the throat of the Company that he was for ever encouraging me—so far as it was possible for me to require encouragement—to fly. Nor were his own acts in disaccordance with those of mine which he so highly applauded, and which he participated in, on behalf of himself and his colleagues, to so full an extent. It was impossible for anything to have been more condemnatory of the Company's administration, and more decisive in its call for the instant abolition of it, than his speech before alluded to of the 27th of July, 1857. On the 15th of August, he again renewed his attack on it; and the furious onslaught made on the Directors, on the same day, by Mr. Henry Austin Bruce, Sir William Codrington, and Mr. Roebuck, in reference to the false and calumnious Return on the subject of Sir Charles Napier's Scinde Government, had the hearty sympathy and encouragement of the Conservative leaders in both Houses, though they took no active part, as there was no necessity for their doing, in the affair. That I can very safely testify, from the hand which I myself had the honour to have in it; nor have I the slightest fear that my assertion will be denied.

All Mr. Disraeli's conversations, indeed, with me at this period were filled with language the most hostile possible to the Company; and his letters, read in connection with the articles they refer to, put the matter entirely beyond the reach of dispute or doubt. The harder the blows struck by me at the misgovernment of that body, the more complete the demonstrations of their utter unfitness to be further trusted with the destinies of India; the warmer, the more enthusiastic were his expressions of concurrence and applause. There was no mistake—there is no mistake—there can be no mistake about the matter; and, I repeat,—with the letters of Mr. Disraeli and the articles referred to in my possession, to prove my assertion, if he should venture to question it,—that human language was incapable of embodying denunciation more strong, invective more fierce, contempt more cutting, and condemnation more entire, than that which thus found the warmest, the most enthusiastic approval with the then leader of the Derbyites in the House of Commons, in regard to the very men whom they afterwards presented to their Sovereign, as the fittest in all England to be Life Councillors of India under the Queen. "My dear Colonel,—I cannot permit a post to pass without expressing to you how greatly I admire, and how entirely I approve, your labours this week. They are pre-eminent. Yours, very sincerely, D." That was the language of one note; it is, as I have shown in an early part of this letter, but a repetition of the sentiments conveyed in all. Sentiments, I repeat, of the warmest and the heartiest possible applause, of each successive exposure of the Company's nepotism, incompetence, and utter disregard of justice;—a body in whose utter deprivation of all share in the government of India he then professed to see the only hope of an end of our troubles there; and in any compromise with it, the rise of renewed disaffection and disaster, ending in the eventual loss to us of that mighty empire.

Does any doubt my assertion? If there be such a one, stand forth Sir John Pakington, like an honest man, as I believe you to be, apart from the double dealing of your Government, and tell the truth; even though the result of your doing so be to put your appointed leaders to shame. You know as well as I do, what the tone taken by your organ under those leaders' direction was, at this period; for your speech at Worcester showed that you were not blind to what was going on, in relation to the Indian question. Say further, whether in the whole of the preceding pages, I have deviated one tittle from the truth in my account of the part which you and your colleagues, in the various instances quoted by me, played. Let Lord Henry Lennox, too, and Lord John Russell, and Mr. Bright, and Mr. Cobden, and Mr. J. B. Smith, and Mr. Bazley, testify whether I have not been strictly accurate, in my account of all the transactions with which they have chanced to be connected, and to which I have had occasion to refer. Nay, more, I appeal to all the leading members in the House on all sides, to say whether, as far as their individual knowledge goes, a word has been uttered by me that is not entirely true. For Governments are not so heedless of the proceedings of opposition leaders, as to take no notice of the latter's public demonstrations; nor do they fail to keep pretty accurately informed, through the revelations of leaky or unfaithful adherents, of what is passing in their opponents' camp. But no; such testimony is needless, for Mr. Disraeli himself will never venture to question a single word that I have said. And if he do not, what becomes of Lord Stanley's character for honesty, in telling the public at the Fishmongers' dinner, that the transfer of India to the Crown had never been represented, either by himself or the colleagues whom he acted with, as involving any sentence of condemnation of the administration of that great Company, whose century of empire had just expired? If the words, as I said before, are simply the embodiment of some ingenious quirk or quibble, then, of course, I need not trouble myself to discuss them; and Lord Stanley is welcome to all the triumph he can draw from such defence. But taken in their plain and obvious sense, and in the sense in which it is clear that they were intended to be taken; namely, that in the Derbyites' alliance with the Directors, there was nothing at all incongruous with their past proceedings, or with the opinions on the Directors' administration of India which they had previously given utterance to,—then,

I repeat, a statement more untruthful was never uttered by a minister, and the facts which I have detailed amply prove the charge.

So matters went on till Lord Palmerston decided on bringing in an India Bill; when, to my astonishment, I heard rumours that the party were about to oppose the abolition of the Company, which had been announced by the government to be the object of the act. On my speaking, however, to Mr. Disraeli on the subject, he treated with contempt the idea that the Derbyites were going to take the part of the Directors, of whom he again spoke in terms, such as he had invariably before used. Their only object, he said, in opposing Lord Palmerston's bill, if they should oppose it, which did not seem to be then quite decided, was to prevent the reform being a sham, as he said it would be in his hands; the then premier and his colleagues having been so much mixed up with the measures that had led to India's then disastrous state. To reserve it, in short, for a moment when it could be made effective and complete. Soon after this the division on the subject took place, the members of the party voting opposite ways on it—Lord Stanley voting with Lord Palmerston and Sir Cornewall Lewis; who certainly did not mince matters at all, as to his opinion of the administration of that great Company, in the condemnation of whose administration, Lord Stanley subsequently said he had never joined. Mr. Disraeli, on the other hand, voted against the first reading; but studiously guarded himself in doing so, from upholding their government in any shape; as was very truly stated by the late Solicitor-General, Sir Hugh Cairns, when defending his chief from the charge of tergiversation, in afterwards himself bringing in an abolition bill. Almost immediately after this the party came into office as the result of a division on the Conspiracy Bill; and then their weekly organ, with which I had been so long connected, was sold—a daily paper, under the control of the same agent, being adopted instead.

My formal connection with the body having thus ceased, I was about to leave town on a long vacation, such as I deemed myself entitled to, after the unremitting labours of the past four years. But a friend of Mr. Disraeli's and mine, having mentioned that my services would be required by them in connection with India, I staid at home; for nothing, of course, would have given me greater pleasure, than to aid them in carrying out those measures in office, which I had so long aided them to advocate out of it, and which I knew myself to have a more thorough and complete knowledge of, than any one in their ranks, however high. At the same time, I had been informed by the same gentleman that Mr. Disraeli was most anxious to show his gratitude to me, for all that I had done for himself and his party when in opposition. I therefore wrote to Mr. Disraeli, telling him that I had no desire to benefit by the patronage of the government in any shape; but that if he would be kind enough to interest himself, in procuring me the honour, which Sir William Napier considered me entitled to *demand* for my services under Sir Charles Napier in Scinde, that would be taken by me, as an entire cancelling of any obligations that might be thought due to me at the government's hands. At the same time, I told him I anticipated no difficulty about the matter; as Lord Ellenborough, when applied to by Sir William in 1856, had recommended my sending in a memorial on the subject to the then President of the India Board. And this he had done in terms, which led me to think that he would himself have recommended me for the honour, had he been in power. This recommendation, however, I thought I could not in honour then adopt, because it seemed to me impossible for me to apply for favours to a minister whom, unknown to him, I was opposing; but now that this obstacle no longer existed, I supposed I might hope to receive my due.

In taking this step, I thought I was rather conferring an obligation on Mr. Disraeli, than soliciting one at his hands; by telling him that I wanted in effect nothing from the government, but an honour lavished with such indiscrimination lately as to be in itself nearly worthless, and which I had long ago earned by my services in Scinde. To me the only value of it, I will frankly confess, would have been the pleasure of proving to the gentlemen of Leadenhall Street, that their partiality or hatred, was no longer to be the measure of a man's

title to the honours of the Crown. Yet, for three weeks was I kept waiting for an answer to this very simple question, to which he might have said yes or no in a minute; and with far less annoyance to me, even in the latter event, than that occasioned by such delay. And when the answer did come, it was couched in terms so ambiguous, that, they might mean anything or nothing; just the sort of answer, that he was so much in the habit of making, to questioners in the House of Commons. In point of fact, I have since learned, on the highest authority, that of the then Indian minister, that he exhibited his vast regard for me, which his friend had so greatly dwelt on, by doing exactly nothing. He never said a word, good, bad, or indifferent, regarding me, to the minister in whose department the matter lay; till the latter had himself announced to Mr. Disraeli, to whom he had no conception that I was known even, that he had selected me to be one of his council, under the new India bill. *Then* Mr. Disraeli was as profuse in his eulogies of my talents, as such gentlemen generally are, in respect to any one, whom they find standing high enough in public or official favour, to be able to get on without them.

I had not seen the India Bill of Lord Ellenborough, nor had I received the least intimation of its provisions, till I read in the public journals the speech of Mr. Disraeli, proposing it to the House of Commons. In that speech, after giving the names of all the other proposed councillors of India, he said that the name of the member for Bombay was not before him; and on the following afternoon, I received a private letter from Lord Ellenborough, telling me that, just before Mr. Disraeli went down to the House of Commons, he had received a paper from the India House, conveying an extract from a despatch of theirs, dated in the year 1854, which had compelled him to tell Mr. Disraeli to keep back my name. That this despatch contained reflections on my management of the Collectorate of Hydrabad, founded on a letter from Mr. Frere, concurred in by the Bombay government; which, there being no reply to it on record, must be fatal to the intended appointment. That this, no doubt, was a matter of great hardship, and perhaps injustice to me, as I had of course never seen the despatch, or had an opportunity of meeting the imputations it conveyed on me; but there it was on record, unreplied to; and under the circumstances, he had no alternative but to make the painful communication to me that he thus made.

I, too, thought it very hard and very unjust; because, in the first place, there was really no foundation for the imputations in question, as I afterwards showed officially to Lord Ellenborough, the President of the India Board's, satisfaction, as will in the sequel be seen. And in the next place, because, under the circumstances under which they had been made, concurred in, and produced, they ought to have been held to be devoid of any weight at all. For I had never received anything but the highest commendation for my public labours, from all I had served under, or been connected with, or known to, save only this one man, Mr. Frere, the bosom friend of Mr. Goldsmid, the original fabricator of the statement regarding the late Sir Charles Napier, consigned to such perpetual infamy, in the speeches of Mr. Henry Bruce, Sir William Codrington, and Mr. Roebuck, on the 15th of August, 1857, in the House of Commons. And even supposing Mr. Frere, to have been as honest as possible in his intentions in the matter, it was not fair to set aside the testimony of such high and various authorities to my services for years, in favour of that of a single man, under whom I was but a few weeks in all. But in this case there was this in addition, that the Report was diametrically opposed to testimony which Mr. Frere had himself borne to my merits, in a certificate which he had given to one of my assistants, six months after I had left the province. Moreover, it had not been sent in to the government till after I had left India for Egypt; no opportunity whatever had been given to me for explanation or reply to it; and I had been put completely off my guard as to the possibility of such an occurrence by the warm esteem and respect for me, and for my public labours, which Mr. Frere had professed to the very latest day of my leaving India on sick certificate.

Mr. Goldsmid, the revenue secretary, in whose department it had fallen, had besides a direct personal interest in concurring in it so promptly in the name of the governor; the

governor's own share of the matter being of course limited, as is usual in such cases, to affixing his signature to the minute, which the secretary had prepared. For on my leaving Scinde on sick certificate for two years, Mr. Goldsmid had sent up a young cousin of his to be assistant to Mr. Frere, who, it was understood, was to succeed me after an intermediate training in the province, in the event of the vacancy becoming permanent as at first seemed certain; but had by this time become very problematical, owing to the change that my health, and by consequence, my disposition to leave India had undergone. That a report, therefore, made and sent in behind my back by Mr. Frere, while I was away in Egypt under these circumstances;—concurred in by his bosom friend, Mr. Goldsmid, in the name of the governor, without giving me any opportunity of meeting it, or even hearing of it, he having a direct personal interest in the success of it, apart from the hostility which he notoriously bore me, as well as my former chief;—and finally re-echoed without inquiry, by the Directors, who had now lugged it forth from their archives to prevent my obtaining the just reward of my public labours, in the shape of an appointment which they were themselves all eager candidates for;—that this report made, concurred in, and produced under these circumstances, should be allowed any weight against me, did, I repeat, seem most hard and most unjust, and such, I have no doubt, will be the opinion of every impartial member of the House of Commons.

But if I thought it both very hard, and very unjust, that this report of Mr. Frere's should be allowed any weight against me under such circumstances as these; if I deemed it particularly so, after the exposure of the utter unscrupulousness of the Bombay government of the period, and of the gentlemen in Leadenhall Street, in regard to all that concerned the late Sir Charles Napier, and his friends, which had been made by Mr. Henry Bruce, and Sir William Codrington, and Mr. Roebuck, in the House of Commons; if I felt that the proper mode of dealing with it by Lord Ellenborough, would have been to put his heel upon it, as Sir William Napier said with indignation, that he ought to have done, when the case was told him; it did seem to me to be perfectly monstrous, that any thing that emanated from Mr. Frere should be received, as evidence against me, after the occurrence which I have now to describe.

This was, that Mr. Frere had fired off a second barrel at me behind my back, during my absence in Egypt; as if to make certain of flooring me, in case his first shot failed to bring me down. The report concurred in with such extreme good will, in the name of the Governor, by his friend Mr. Goldsmid, and now produced by the Directors, was of this nature. It was very depreciatory of me, as a collector, as well as the system, which, with the entire approval of Sir Charles Napier and Mr. Pringle, his predecessors, I had followed in my collectorate. It showed, or professed to show, that my senior assistant then acting in the office, would, in the event of a vacancy, be totally unfit to succeed to it. But at the same time, it brought Mr. Goldsmid's cousin, then assistant to Mr. Frere, to the favourable notice of the government, that is of Mr. Goldsmid; as one who united in his person all the sagacity and diligence requisite for the appointment, and to whose administrative capacity, Mr. Frere acknowledged himself indebted, for the discoveries in the faultiness of the system pursued by me, which he had made. In fact, it was just the paper to be concurred in with alacrity by Mr. Goldsmid, in order to fulfil the prophecy of Sir Charles Napier to the letter, which I have before quoted. "*The civil servants at Bombay are watching this government like the Harpies of the ancients; and the moment I go, the whole will be changed into an enormously expensive civil government, innumerable branches extending from the foul stem of the Bombay tree. All the sons, nephews, and friends, of the Bombay civil servants will be provided for, &c., &c.*" This was notoriously the object, as well as hope, in Bombay, at the time I am speaking of. But the supreme government having subsequently refused to sanction the raising of the pay of the Scinde collectors to the Indian standard, (it being under Sir Charles but half that amount,) the office ceased to *be an object of covetousness* to them, they having so many other better appointments to look to.

Thus, when a year and a half after the date of Mr. Frere's report, my office really did become vacant, it had no longer any special pecuniary attractions; and I doubt whether, under its altered prospects, it would have been worth Mr. Goldsmid's cousin's while to take it.

This was the scope of the report now handed me by Lord Ellenborough, and made behind my back while I was away in Egypt, seeking the recovery of my health, which had broken down under my long and arduous labours in Scinde. And this, too, while Mr. Frere was professing the greatest friendship and esteem for me, and when therefore such an attack could neither be guarded against nor anticipated. Indeed, I had never even heard of it, till long after I had left India for ever. But, as I said above, he had sent in another report regarding me, at the same period, as if by way of making certain of flooring me; which was equally withheld from me by the government, though I had had an opportunity of privately learning the contents of it, on my return from Egypt to Bombay in 1853. The object of this latter report, which was in the judicial department, was to make it impossible for me to return to my appointment; except on terms of humiliation, as a minister of public justice, which were alike illegal and unprecedented; and which he knew perfectly well, that if the forfeiture of a hundred appointments was to be the consequence, I never could, and never would submit to. In this endeavour he had been so far successful as to carry his point with the government, after great opposition in the council; one of the two members of which, had protested against such a mode of dealing with a magistrate, who had by Mr. Frere's own account, but conscientiously discharged a public duty. He had said, therefore, that he did not see why Mr. Frere, if in the wrong, should be supported.

But just at the very moment of triumph, the tables had been turned most unpleasantly on Mr. Frere, by my demanding to be furnished with a copy of his report, on which the government decision had been founded; for the avowed purpose of meeting it, as in the only really material particular, it was untrue. There could be no earthly doubt of its being so; the judicial secretary, Mr. Lumsden, at first astounded by such an allegation, was compelled to admit that it was so; not only from a review of the papers in the case, but also from facts brought from a wholly independent source, within his own personal knowledge. The result, therefore, was, that the government had no alternative but to refuse me the report, and suppress the inquiry into its veracity I sought for, or sacrifice Mr. Frere; and the former was the course that it adopted. I, on my part, refused with indignation the terms proposed to me, which would have involved an admission of the truth of Mr. Frere's report; and throwing up the case and my office under protest, returned to England. Here I had renewed my demand for inquiry, and my impeachment of Mr. Frere's report for untruthfulness in terms which no government would have permitted an officer to use, regarding a high public functionary, without placing him on his trial for it; unless it had been afraid of facing the inquiry which must necessarily have ensued. I, further, had offered to produce several officers before the Directors, who had been in Scinde at the period, and who could have satisfactorily proved to them the untruthfulness of the report I challenged. But this, of course, in that Neapolitan fashion, which Mr. Gladstone tells us we shall think incredible for its infamous injustice, they declined. This being so, I had no alternative but to do as all men have to do in similar circumstances, under every government, that acknowledges the dictates of neither conscience, nor law, nor truth, nor honour. But, as soon as I had received brevet rank in 1855, and had thus, on record, a practical proof, that as far as personal reputation was concerned, I need trouble myself no further about the affair; I left a service which it seemed to me was not the service any gentleman need desire to stay in, retiring on my pension and my present rank. Then I thought that my concerns with the Leadenhall Street people had ceased for ever.

It did therefore appear to me, I repeat, quite monstrous, that I should now find my title to so high an honour impeached by a *second* report of Mr. Frere, and his friend, Mr. Goldsmid's concurrence in it, in the name of the Governor, and the Directors' despatch on it,

which I had never seen till after I left India; when his *first* report, which I had seen, had been so repeatedly challenged by me for untruthfulness—a challenge as repeatedly shrunk from by his friends in the Bombay Government, and the Direction, in the manner I have described. In no court that I have ever heard of, whether court martial, court of law, or court of honour, would a man's evidence be taken against another in a second case, when, in the first, his testimony had been publicly impeached as untrue, and the inquiry into the charge had been evaded, instead of courted, as it would be by every man, and by the friends of every man, of conscious worth. Is that which Mr. Gladstone denounces as so shameful at Naples, at all different in principle from that which I have depicted, and depicted, truly here? Are these the principles of *honour and dispassionate equity* which, he says, we in England are so accustomed to see the highest impersonation of, but which are so wanting in the Neapolitan judges and advisers of the Crown? Why, if I am rightly informed, the Judicial Secretary at Bombay, at the period, has himself declared, that the conduct of the Government in the matter, after I had shown the untruthfulness of Mr. Frere's report, was felt by him to be so disgraceful, that, beyond appending his official signature to the papers, which he could not help doing, he had declined to take any share in the after-part of the affair. To do the Directors justice, however, they had had the sense to keep this other report of Mr. Frere's entirely in the back ground on this occasion; though I myself had left all the papers regarding it with Lord Ellenborough, at Southam in 1854. They had also studiously kept it out of the *Scinde Blue Book* of 1854, which, we may be sure, they would not have done, had they not perfectly well known how little it would bear the light; and that it was not I that would have been injured by the publication, but themselves, the Bombay Government, and Mr. Frere. Indeed, when I had gone to the India House to try and get a sight of their decision on the case, which I never saw till the other day, I was told by the official, to whom I was referred, that *they were not going to furnish me with weapons to use against themselves.* A pretty plain proof of the opinion that he, at least, had formed on the subject.

It was under these feelings, that I wrote to Lord Ellenborough a note in reply to that of his to me, which he has since kindly given me permission to publish, telling him that I had just received his letter conveying to me his enforced change of intention regarding my appointment to the India Council. That, as this was a thing far beyond my expectations, and as I was of a very philosophical temperament, I could assure him I was not at all pained by my exclusion; and that I should be much more pained if my nomination were to be the occasion of any annoyance either to Mr. Disraeli or himself. That, the charge referred to by him had, of course, never been communicated to me, nor had I ever had an opportunity of meeting it, the Directors took very good care of that. But it was included in the *Scinde Blue Book*, along with a variety of other falsehoods regarding the late Sir Charles Napier and myself. Had it been communicated to me, I could have easily shown that if the Kardars, or district officers, were in arrears of salary latterly (which they never were in Sir Charles Napier's time), it was owing to the regulation of the Bombay Government, which prevented pay being issued till the pay-bills had been audited, which was seldom till months after they were due. That, the other allegations I could have equally shown to be false; and that, indeed, no one, who knew how actively I passed my time, even in retirement, and the intimate acquaintance with the details of Indian administration, which my writings exhibit, could believe, for an instant, that I was either an idle or an incompetent collector in Scinde. What I really was, the reports of Sir Charles Napier, and of Mr. Pringle, who was still alive to speak to the facts, would show. These would be more trustworthy, than the statements fabricated behind my back by an unscrupulous partizan; whose object was well known to be the furthering the views of Mr. Goldsmid, by driving me out of Scinde.

But, I added, I was not sorry that the question of Mr. Frere's veracity was now brought

to an issue; because the papers I had left at Southam in 1854, would show that I long since charged him with mendacity in his reports to Government regarding me—a charge which it refused to investigate under circumstances most dishonourable to Mr. Frere. The shield extended over him by his friend, Lord Falkland, had been continued by the Directors here; and it was only when I found it impossible to obtain an investigation, that I decided on throwing up a service, in which, it appeared to me, under the circumstances, that no honourable man could stay. If, therefore, his evidence was now to be adduced against me, it would be, at least, fair to put the worth of it to the proof, by putting him on his trial in regard to the charges preferred by me against him to the Directors, in January 1854. And if his lordship would only allow this, he would do me an infinitely greater favour than by conferring on me all the honours and appointments in his lordship's gift. I did not, I said, care what shape the inquiry assumed, or where it was conducted, so that I had not to leave England; all I asked was, that such steps should be taken by his lordship as should enable me, if not judicially, at any rate, effectually, to satisfy him whether Mr. Frere had or had not, in his official reports regarding me, utterly and wilfully deviated from the truth. It might be that a satisfactory issue might not render me acceptable to Parliament, in the post to which I had been intended to be named; but it would show whether or not the false statements, put on record behind my back by Mr. Frere, ought not to be taken off the file; and whether the public ban, instead of being placed on me in consequence of them, ought not to be placed on the Commissioner in Scinde.

Having written that note in reply to Lord Ellenborough's communication, I took it to him myself, on the chance of his being at home; and I gave it into his own hands, after some conversation with him regarding the affair. The result of that conversation was entirely to satisfy me; as he assured me that he did not credit a particle of the imputations made upon me, knowing well the hostility existing against me, in consequence of the part I had taken in relation to the attacks on the late Sir Charles Napier, both in India and at home. And he further added, that nothing but the Government being in a minority, in the House of Commons, would have prevented their adhering to their first views in my favour, even as the matter then stood.

In an interview, which I had the following day with Mr. Disraeli, he expressed precisely the same sentiments. So thinking any enquiry needless, when the Indian minister and the Government leader, in the House of Commons, both expressed such continued confidence in me without one; I wrote a note to Lord Ellenborough withdrawing my request for one; but still adhering to my first expressed intention of putting my reply to the paper sent him by the Directors, on official record. I said, in this note, that as, since writing to him my letter of the previous evening, I had had an opportunity of ascertaining personally that I had not suffered, either in his lordship's good opinion, or in that of Mr. Disraeli, through this unpleasant affair, it appeared to me that there could be no necessity for my asking for an enquiry; and I therefore begged to withdraw my request to that effect. But of his lordship's kind permission to see the papers in the hands of his private secretary, I should gladly avail myself; and, after comparing them with those in the *Blue Book*, I should draw out as full, and no doubt, as satisfactory an answer to them, as I did to the somewhat similar accusations made against the late Sir Charles Napier in the Directorial Return to the House of Commons. This would not be very difficult, more especially as I found that the time referred to by Mr. Frere, was about fifteen months after I left the country; and when the Collectorate had been administered for that period, by a man appointed by Mr. Frere himself, but afterwards superseded by him for incompetence in the situation. With the way in which the duties were conducted in his time, I had exactly as much to do, as Ellenborough himself had to do with the duties of the India Board, as conducted by his predecessor there. This reply, when completed, I should appeal to his lordship's strong sense of honour and justice to give place to, beside the paper,

of accusation, on the records of the Board. It would, to be sure, be too late to be of any use to me on that occasion; but it would, at least, close the door to any future attempts to injure me of a similar kind.

Such was the plain and straightforward way of meeting the matter which I adopted: and what was the result? Why, that in a very few days, my official reply was in the hands of the President of the India Board; in which I was able to prove, from my own report, published in the *Scinde Blue Book* of 1854, and addressed to Mr. Frere's predecessor, Mr. Pringle, that the mare's-nests discovered by himself and his assistant, Mr. Goldsmid's cousin, were parts of the Scinde system, which had been adopted with the entire approval of Sir Charles Napier, and continued with the warmest approbation of his successor, Mr. Pringle. One of the chief of them, the abolition of district treasuries, being a point, which we find Sir Charles, at pages 173 and 174 of the *Life*, vol. iv., afterwards endeavouring to prevail on Lord Dalhousie to carry out in the Punjaub, for the same reason that he had set his face against them so strongly in Scinde: namely, that they were destructive to the discipline of the army, besides frittering away its strength, from the number of petty detachments, they involved the necessity of, in the shape of district treasure guards. It was thus clear that, Mr. Frere in making these imputations, the Bombay Government in concurring in them, and the Court of Directors in re-echoing them, must all have been grossly ignorant of what was on their own records, and what, therefore, it was their bounden duty to know. While, as to any arrears of salary in Scinde, they must all have been equally ignorant of Mr. Frere's own proper duty in connection with that point; or they would have known that the matter rested entirely between himself and the civil auditor at Bombay, who were alone responsible for it. The collector having really no control whatever over the matter, after he had once sent in the salary-bills to the commissioner, Mr. Frere; though, as the arrears dated subsequently to my departure from the province, they could not, even had the case been otherwise, have reflected in the least on me. Is it not disgraceful that the character of a man, whose ability had been so proved, and who had rendered such public services as I had, should be lied away by the outpourings of such mingled ignorance and hostility as these acts display? Yet by such had I been shut out from one of the highest honours, and one of the richest gifts, that a man in my position could possibly have aspired to,—higher, indeed, than I ever had aspired to,—for the offer had been Lord Ellenborough's own spontaneous, unsolicited act.

To this reply, I appended letters of Sir William Napier, and Mr. Pringle, his brother's successor, showing what the opinion of Sir Charles Napier regarding me as a public servant had been; and how far Mr. Pringle's own experience of me, for above three years as Commissioner, confirmed the character which Sir Charles had given of me, to him, on leaving Scinde. Sir William said in his letter, that I asked him to state frankly the opinion his brother, the late Sir Charles Napier, had of my management, as a collector, in Scinde; and also, how far his own experience of my habits led him to judge of my mental application. His testimony, he said, as to Sir Charles Napier's share, was positive and strong as I could desire; and his opinion was to be taken with this additional proof of sincerity: namely, that I had, on one occasion, opposed him, as he thought, improperly, on a point where he was particularly sensitive. That he thought highly of me was proved by his appointing me to the Collectorate of Hydrabad, which Sir William believed he was right in considering the most important in Scinde. His expressions throughout his public and private correspondence, and in private conversation, were always substantially the same: "Rathborne is an honourable man, of unusual talent, with much knowledge of India generally, and of Scinde particularly; and his assiduity and public spirit are equal to his capacity; he is one of my two best collectors." The other was poor Goldney. "My own experience, (added Sir William), one of several years, justifies me in saying, that the charge of idleness and incapacity creates as much indignant surprise,

as a charge of dishonour would do. Your talents and pursuits, known to me, have confirmed the opinion I formed of your character, from my brother's eulogiums. Your habits are those of hard labour and application—and the results are many and strong proofs of mental power, very remarkable."

Mr. Pringle's reply to my application informed me, that when the late Sir Charles Napier made over the government of Scinde to him, he spoke in very high terms of my capacity, diligence, and efficiency; and that his own impression, while he was Commissioner, was entirely in accordance with that opinion. But he said he was bound in honesty to add, that he gave him a caution as to my temper; a point, however, which did not at all affect the question at issue, which was whether I was, or was not, a most able, diligent, and efficient occupant of the office I was the first to organize, and had so long filled. I did not remember at the moment, that I happened to have lying among my papers, testimony to my worth and ability as a public servant, under Mr. Frere's own hand, quite as strong as that which Sir William Napier and Mr. Pringle had given; or I should have sent that to Lord Ellenborough too. Testimony borne six month after I had left Scinde, never to return to it, and when, consequently, my account of personal service there was closed for ever. This was, as I have said before, contained in a letter from Mr. Frere to an assistant of mine, a nephew of Sir Charles Napier's first wife; and was written a little before I left India for Egypt, when Mr. Frere was very warm indeed in his professions of esteem for me. It was given to him in the shape of a certificate of his services, when he was leaving Scinde for England; having been compelled by illness, to throw up the appointment he had held under me for nearly five years. In his indignation at the treatment, he afterwards heard that I had met with from Mr. Frere, he came to me of his own accord in London, and placed it in my hands, with liberty to make any use I pleased of it. A copy was afterwards sent by me to Lord Stanley, the Secretary of State for India; and I will only say here of it, what I have in substance said in my official letter to him, that, read side by side with the Report, of which a copy was sent me by Lord Ellenborough, it gives the latter most completely the lie.

Though my reply to Mr. Frere's Report was sent in at once, no decision on it was come to by the President of the India Board, Lord Ellenborough, till he was on the eve of leaving office. The multiplicity of his other engagements had prevented him, he said, from being able to dispose of the matter sooner; but the delay had not been complained of by me. Indeed, I had said at the outset, that time was not an object with me, so much as having the matter completely disposed of, so as to leave no possible opening for future doubt or question. When the decision was come to by Lord Ellenborough, it was a complete exoneration of me: my explanation was stated by him to be *very satisfactory;* and he added, that he had placed it on record at the India Board, as I had requested. Thus the imputations on me in Mr. Frere's second and last Report against me, were declared to be foundationless, as I knew they must be, let the investigation be made by whom it might; so long only as honesty, conscientiousness, and a strict impartiality were to guide the proceedings;—and not that determination to screen high functionaries of the Indian Civil Service, by upholding all their proceedings, however erroneous or disgraceful, which has been more than anything the curse of India, and the cause of all its misgovernment, its rebellions, and its wrongs.

While this event was in progress, the fate of the government itself was hanging in the balance, and Mr. Disraeli, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and leader in the House of Commons, again sought my aid. He had told me what his opinion was regarding the factious nature of the India House's proceedings towards me; and he had assured me that I should not suffer from them, as if not in the mode first intended, in some other, the intentions of the Government in my favour should be made good. But, at the same time, he seemed very much impressed with the danger which the India Bill had brought upon the Government; and after consulting me upon the position, and receiving my opinion on it,

he sent Mr. Philip Rose to me, to beg that I would resume my pen, and endeavour to stem the torrent of public opinion, that had set in so strongly against them. And in taking this step, *after the first suspension of my nomination, and immediately following the assurance thus given to me in reference to it*, he did, in my opinion, give me as strong a pledge of the protection and favour of the Government, and as binding a one, in the eyes of every man of honour, as if he had given it under hand and seal. For that a high officer of the Crown like the Chancellor of the Exchequer,—a Member of the Queen's Cabinet, and one, therefore, whose word should be especially sacred,—the leader of his party in the House of Commons, and whom, from his position, I had a right to look to as the *alter ego* of Lord Derby, and whose assurances, therefore, I was entitled to trust as implicitly as if they had been made to me by the mouth of Lord Derby himself;—that such a one, having already had four years' gratuitous service from me, should again come to me for aid in his, and the Government's moment of difficulty, and after obtaining that aid, and giving me written acknowledgments of his and his colleagues' indebtedness to me for it, should violate the faith he had pledged to me under such circumstances, when all the objects sought by him in such aid, had been attained by him, and the day was won;—this would have seemed to me a thing so impossible, that even the slightest suspicion of it could never have entered my mind.

I therefore did at once, as Mr. Rose on Mr. Disraeli's part solicited me. The labour involved was considerable, for no doubt matters were in a mess; but there did seem to me a possibility of extrication, if the Government prepared the public, for its acceptance of all reasonable alterations in the Bill, provided only that it were allowed to pass a second reading. And I felt the less disinclination to assist in the attempt, because, though the Bill was entirely opposed in many respects to my own opinions, there was one feature in it, which, however novel it might appear, did seem to me to be calculated to realize ultimately, all the fruits that could be desired, by the most ardent advocate of India Reform. This was the appointment so much objected to, on account of the proposed manner of election, of the five members, from the five great commercial cities of the United Kingdom. For if by a change in the mode of nomination, five gentlemen could be secured to the Council, fairly representing the commerce of the country with its Eastern Empire; it was plain to me that they would soon over-ride all the old Indian and Directorial elements of obstruction; and becoming the spokesmen of the independent European and mercantile interests in India, carry all that was necessary in the way of progress, protection against oppression, and reform. The late appointment of Mr. Wilson, shows the necessity since felt for such an element among the official advisers in India, though it may be doubted whether he was the best choice that could have been made; and it is difficult to suppose, that if five men of that stamp, had been appointed to the Council when it was first formed here, the affairs of India, social, financial, and political, could have fallen into that state of almost hopeless disorganization which they now present.

But I soon found that the grounds of objection, put forth most prominently by the Indian Reform party and their friends, were not the main ones; these being the reappointment of three or four of the most obnoxious of the old Directors, whose nomination had given great offence, (though under the Ellenborough Bill, their tenure of office would have been very brief and very powerless,) and the retention of any part of the patronage in the Council's hands. This had led them to think that the Government were not in earnest in those professions of India Reform, which they had been so loud in expressing when out of office. They had, therefore, I was told, decided on opposing the second reading; but were willing, as I was informed by the Secretary to the India Reform Association, to withdraw their opposition on certain terms. These were, that specified modifications should be made in the Bill in Committee, in order to bring it into greater conformity with the views of the India Reform body; and that the Government should pledge themselves to adhere to those principles generally of India Reform, which they had put forth when out of office in their

weekly organ. Among the chief of these, it is needless to say, was the entire abolition of Leadenhall Street influence, in fact as well as in name.

With these propositions, I called on Mr. Disraeli, who, expressing agreement to a great extent with the chief part of them, or, in other words, a readiness to accept them as far as he himself was concerned, told me he could not, even on consultation with Lord Ellenborough, which I proposed, give an answer to them on the moment, except as to the last; and that was the determination of the Government, most decidedly, to adhere to those principles they had professed out of office, in regard to Indian Reform. That much, I might at once state. As to the rest, he had others to consult, and must defer an answer to the next day; meantime, he would see how things went in the House of Commons. Going, at once, from Mr. Disraeli, I gave his message on the point replied to by him; and the result was a promise, that steps should be taken to prevail on the Indian Reform party, and their friends, not to join with the opponents of the Government in throwing out the bill. How far the hopes held out by Mr. Disraeli were verified in the event, all the world now knows. He has somewhere, if I remember rightly, spoken of Whiggism as a system of organized hypocrisy; what Conservatism, as practised by himself and his colleagues, may be an organized system of, I must leave to the reader of these pages to determine.

But to return to my story. Believing in the assurances of Mr. Disraeli, and knowing the sentiments he had so repeatedly expressed, I laboured on for him and his party, notwithstanding the ill-health under which I was suffering; and then, and at the Cardwell crisis, I was admitted to have rendered them great service, for which, through Mr. Philip Rose, they expressed how much they were indebted to me. For, by the publication of Dr. Travers Twiss' opinion on the Seizure of Oude, and of articles based on it, I paved the way for those arguments in the House of Commons, derived from the rules of International Law, which had with it, and with the public, the greatest weight. But, perhaps, the service which I rendered to them by my silence, was even greater than that which I rendered them by my pen. But what would have been the effect of my disclosing that, when Lord Ellenborough left the Cabinet, it contained not a single man entitled to take his stand on his despatch? What if I had exhibited those deep sympathizers with the fallen Royalty, and spoliated nobles and land-owners, of Oude, in their true colours; by lifting up the curtain that hid their little arrangement with Lord Dalhousie in 1856, from the public view? The result, I think, could hardly have been doubtful. At any rate, if I could have anticipated their subsequent tergiversation, the experiment should have been tried; instead of wearing out my health in their service, because after falling from the cause they had professed repentance, a repentance I believed to be sincere.

The Cardwell crisis got through; the Government being secure, as it seemed to me, for the rest of the session; my services to it being no longer necessary, and my health being completely broken down, by the labours I had so long and so continuously undergone; I went down to recruit my health at the sea-side, mentioning my having done so in a note to Mr. Philip Rose. Shortly afterwards the letter reached me from Lord Ellenborough, conveying his decision on the case referred to a few pages back; and, as it was a complete exoneration of me from the imputations cast upon me, by the Directors, the Bombay Government, and Mr. Frere, I at once sent a copy of it to Mr. Disraeli's address. But to my astonishment, that gentleman, who could write fast enough and often enough when he was in opposition, and when his own and his party's interests were at stake, did not even vouchsafe me a reply. I was very much disgusted at this, as well I might be, but the same friend of Mr. Disrael's, who had dwelt so much on his regard and esteem for me, and his desire to prove his gratitude, in the first instance, suggested that I should run up to town and see him, as there must certainly be some mistake in the affair. For he told me, that Mr. Disraeli's private secretary had assured him that I was to have an honour conferred on me: that there had been a suspension of the decision on the subject for the moment, but that before Lord Ellenborough left the cabinet it had been finally settled. And this information tallied

exactly, as far as I could judge, with what had probably taken place. As, that my complete exoneration by Lord Ellenborough, from the imputations which had interfered to prevent my being appointed to the Council of India, should be followed up by some public act of that kind, seemed not merely a natural, but, under the circumstances, a necessary conclusion to the affair. Mr. Gladstone makes it an especial charge against the Government of Naples, that, under similar circumstances, it simply lets the matter stand at zero; making no reparation whatever to the accused. I suppose, therefore, that he would have taken precisely the same view of the matter, as regards this point, that I did; and that must be taken by every one, that paid the slightest regard to the dictates of common justice or common sense. The reparation, which the law in such cases exacts, in the shape of damages from an individual; one looks for equally, though in another form, from the fountain of honour and equity, when its servants have chanced to do an unintentional wrong. An intentional one can of course never be anticipated from it; but the refusal of reparation, when a man's explanation has been pronounced as mine had been, to be "*very satisfactory*," is in the code of law and honour equally recognised, as the most flagrant and deliberate act of wrong that can be done.

I did, therefore, return to town as suggested, and called on Mr. Disraeli; to whom I explained very frankly the intolerable annoyance which the proceedings of the Government had occasioned me, and the serious injury which would be inflicted on me, unless Lord Ellenborough's complete exoneration of me from the Directors' imputations, now admitted to be groundless, were followed up in some unmistakeable shape. I told him, that he knew as well as I did, that I had not sought the appointment for which I had been selected; for that I had had no desire to benefit by the Government's patronage in any shape; and that if I had asked for an honour, it was only what I had earned by my military and civil services in Scinde. That he was aware that my refusal to ask this favour from the preceding Government, though Sir William Napier had thought me entitled to *demand* it, had arisen solely out of my position in relation to that Government, occasioned by my labours in behalf of the party which Mr. Disraeli led in the House of Commons; and it did seem to me, therefore, that his Government in conferring it, would have been simply making up to me, a positive loss entailed on me, by my services in their cause. But that, still I should have borne no ill will to them, if they had met the request by a refusal, and so the matter had dropped. That now, however, the case was entirely altered. I had been selected for one of the highest and most distinguished offices an Indian officer could aspire to; I had been set aside on imputations made on me by the Directors, which had now been decided to be foundationless; and I had a right, I conceived, to expect that the Government would follow up that entire exoneration of me, in some shape, by showing that I was not a man unworthy of the honours or favours of the Crown. To me, the grant of the honour I had first asked for, seemed the simplest mode of settling the matter; but as long as some effectoal step was taken by the Government, to set it right, it signified not to me in what form, the remedy for the wrong which I had suffered, came.

Mr. Disraeli listened attentively to what I had to say; seemed to enter entirely into my feelings; and said he would speak to Lord Stanley on the subject, and see that I was put right with the world, either by carrying out the arrangement first intended, or in some other way that should be satisfactory to me;—adding, that if I would remain in town, I should hear from Lord Stanley or himself on the subject in a few days. I thanked him, as a matter of course, for his promise, to bring a business so unpleasant to a satisfactory conclusion; and said, I would make a point of staying in town, though I had not intended, when I left the sea-side, to do more than run up and see him, and then at once return.

Satisfied by his assurances, I left him, and naturally expected from day to day to see his promise to me in some shape or other fulfilled. I waited in town, as he had desired me, but neither note nor message from himself or Lord Stanley came. Meantime, days had run on

into weeks, and weeks into months, but still not a word; while I, on my part, had too much self-respect either to call or write to him, to remind him of the promise he had made. Nor could I be blind in the interim to the alliance with the India House, which had evidently sprung up. Lord Stanley had brought in a bill so favourable to the Directors, that Lord Ellenborough, if I remember rightly, declared in his place in Parliament, that it would have been impossible for him to have introduced such a one; as its tendency must be to perpetuate the ascendancy of the Directors, so baleful to the country; and with it their powers of mischief towards all who had incurred their enmity, which had been so conspicuous a feature in their rule. Then, too, the patronage which the Derbyites had been so loud in denouncing their habitual abuse of, was confirmed to them; notwithstanding the hopes that had been held out to the Indian Reformers, at the time of Lord John Russell's motion, of an alteration in this respect. Nay, even an attempt was made in the House of Lords by Lord Derby, to wrest back for them the patronage of the Indian civil appointments, which had been taken from them in 1853. To their incompetence and misgovernment, Mr. Disraeli had attributed alike the rebellion in India, and all the evils under which that unnappy country suffered; and, in a letter of suggestions to me, he had said, that their corrupt influences were such, as nothing but national calamity could counteract. Yet, here were he and his colleagues perpetuating this corrupt influence, and the rule of these alleged incompetents; by making them, with still higher emoluments, a position of far greater splendour, and powers not in the least diminished, the life councillors of India under the Queen. Nor was this all; for they were actually put in a position, to extend their corrupt influences, even beyond the term of their own natural lives, by the system of renewing their body by self-election: a system, which has always proved a forcing pit of mismanagement, corruption, and every possible abuse, wherever and whenever it has prevailed. Nay, more; the proportion of appointments in the council, which the Ministers had been able to prevail on Parliament to sanction for the Directors, was inadequate to satisfy their zeal in behalf of their new friends; and so a private intimation was conveyed to them, that in addition to the seven elected, four more of their body should be included among the nominees of the Government, giving them eleven voices out of the fifteen, which the council was to consist of. At the same time, three, out of the four remaining members, were chosen from the Indian civilian class; whose intimate connection with the Directors, whose exorbitant salaries, whose monopoly of power, and whose almost entire immunity from responsibility for misconduct, had long pointed it out as one of the greatest sources of India's misgovernment;—or, in other words, as the body whence emanated, and in which centred, most of the intolerable abuses, which must necessarily be the first objects of attack, in any real and effective system of India Reform.

Of course, there was great rejoicing at the India House, at an act of tergiversation at once so disgraceful and so complete; and there needed no other explanation, to account to me for Mr. Disraeli's silence, and neglect to fulfil the promise he had made. I, therefore, wrote to him as soon as the arrangements were complete, saying that, agreeable to his instructions, when last I saw him, I had remained in town, awaiting the communication which he had led me to expect; but had not heard a syllable from Lord Stanley or himself. It seemed to me, therefore, time to bring this disagreeable affair to a close. I would not, I said, enter into the question of the *pre-eminent services* which his letters, then before me, so often assured me I was rendering to him; or into that of *how deeply they were all indebted to me*, as Mr. Rose's letter, written in the throes of the Cardwell crisis, averred. Of such services, it was quite optional with him, to make me any recognition or not. Pecuniary reward, in any shape, I wanted not; and if I had hoped for honorary, it was more for public objects than my own. Neither simple Knighthood, nor a civil Companionship of the Bath would have added, in the slightest degree, to my present social position; even if it could be supposed, that such considerations could influence one, who never went into society, and who valued its petty distinctions at their intrinsic worth. Why, such an

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as it had done. That, if its object had been to cement its new alliance with the Directors, by sacrificing me as a peace offering to them; of course I could want nothing at their hands, but had only to imitate the example they had set. But that if, though they had changed their minds regarding India, they were disposed to act towards me, as gentlemen should act, towards one who had so long served with them; they might easily remedy the annoyance, by recommending me to the Crown for the honour I had first asked for: which, however worthless in itself, from the lavishness with which it had been distributed, would have the effect, at least, of removing the slur, of which I complained. This, I said, was what struck me as the simplest mode of arranging the matter; but there were fifty ways of settling such a case, in the hands of every ministry, that only felt so disposed.

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honour conferred on me, would have been deemed valuable, was, that it would have shown that the reign of directorial malignity was terminated; with which Lord Ellenborough had said, last session in the Lords, they had ever visited those, who had dared to oppose their system, and question their acts. It would, moreover, have shown that the Crown valued, if the Company did not, the services of those who had laboured, with the late Sir Charles Napier, in Scinde.

That it did not, however, please the Government to grant the favour I had requested; but it proposed to confer another on me, which was, so far, more gratifying, as being a distinction of the highest kind; but which, in other respects, was much less agreeable to me, because I had no desire to change a life of literary leisure, that was very consonant with my tastes and habits, for Government employ. However, no sooner was this office tendered to me, than directorial and secretariat animosity set itself in motion; and the offer was withdrawn, on grounds, which I afterwards satisfied Lord Ellenborough, to be foundationless and false.

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of the party, the speeches and votes of their leaders in parliament, and the articles published by them, in their organs in the public press, whether a more absolute untruth was ever uttered by a public man, than that which Lord Stanley gave utterance to on this occasion? Why then should I hesitate any longer as to the course which I should take? I had been deceived: tricked out of my labour, and money too,—to the extent of the expenditure necessarily involved in such labours, and which was, by no means, inconsiderable,—under assurances of fidelity to principles, and of personal support, every one of which had been falsified, as soon as the object had been attained. I had been sacrificed to the hostility of the very men, whose mis-government I had been hallooed on, week after week, to the exposure of, by Mr. Disraeli, on his own and his colleagues' part. The reparation which was my right, in common justice, had been denied me; and a character so highly vouched for, by both Sir Charles and Sir William Napier, by Mr. Pringle, and by Mr. Frere himself, before my back had been turned on India,—by all, in short, whom I had ever served under, or been connected with,—had been destroyed, as far as an honest man's character could be destroyed, by the acts of such people as these. If Mr. Disraeli chose to stand by and see all this injury heaped upon me, in return for all the benefits I had done him;—if he chose to allow his own acts and assurances to be thus falsified, towards one whom he was bound, on every principle of honour and of duty, to support;—if he could let me be struck down, for what he knew had been as much his own and his colleagues' act as mine; and which, so far from being a crime in me, was a thing deserving of that honour, due to all, who devote their energies, to the amelioration of the condition of their fellow-men;—if he had not the manliness to come forward and say to those colleagues, together we did it—together let us suffer, if any one is to suffer; but never let it be said, that we sacrificed so faithful an aid to us, in our days of opposition and of difficulty, to the enmity he has brought on himself so largely, by acts done with our entire approval, at our suggestion, and on our behalf;—if, in short, Mr. Disraeli was not prepared to act, as every man of honour was bound to act, under the circumstances, no matter at what hazard to himself;—why was I to study the interests of one, from whom I had received no favour—to whom I owed no gratitude,—but who, on the contrary, had received such great and long-continued favours from me; yet had no better return to make me for them, than a desertion, so faithless, so heartless, and so complete?

What, again, were Lord Stanley, and his father, and the rest of them to me, that I should hesitate in the least on their account, as to the steps I might be advised to take? There is not one of them that I should know, by sigth even, if I was to meet him in the street. All I do know of them is, that they appear to have been playing the same game of dishonesty and deception, in regard to every question, and every interest, and every section of politicians in the country, that they played in regard to me. Why then I should hestitate, to bring them to the bar of public opinion, I could not conceive; they having placed themselves beyond the pale of all honourable dealing, by the manner in which they had behaved on the question, alike to the public and to me.

This being so, I wrote to Lord Ellenborough, asking his permission, to make public use of the notes on the subject, which had passed between his lordship and myself; as I intended to submit a narrative of the whole circumstances to the public: adding, incidentally, that as to Mr. Disraeli's correspondence with me, huzzaing me on, week after week, to the demolition of his new allies in Leadenhall Street, to whom I was now thus shamefully sacrificed; the government had, by their conduct, so totally placed themselves out of all the laws of honourable dealing, that I need not trouble myself, as to whether the use that any of their letters were put to, had, or had not, their sanction or consent. In reply to this, his lordship gave me permission, to make any use I pleased of his own letters; but counselled me against using Mr. Disraeli's without his consent, saying, private letters must be private. To which I could of course only answer, by saying, what was the fact; namely, that as the *Government* had left me no alternative, but the course I proposed adopting, or the sacrifice

of myself; I must trust that the blame of the publication, would fall rather on those who had thus compelled me to it, than on myself, who was, in consequence, hardly a free agent in the affair.

It is no slight evidence of the right I really had to take this step, according to authorities, which neither Mr. Disraeli nor his late colleagues can possibly gainsay; that Lord Ellenborough, who had thus told me, so emphatically, in relation to Mr. Disraeli's correspondence with me, that private letters must be private, immediately communicated to that gentleman, the contents of these, my own private letters to himself. And this, not only without consulting me; but in direct opposition, to what he must have judged to be my wishes, if he had given the matter a moment's thought. While Mr. Disraeli, who claims such sacredness for his own private letters, had not the slightest scruple about availing himself to the fullest extent of this breach of confidence, in regard to my private letters, and turning the contents, thus acquired by him, to public use! He thus justified, by his conduct in regard to *my* private letters, any use, to which I might subsequently think fit, to put his own. He so supplied any authority, that might have been wanting, for the completion of an intention, expressed in a moment of the sorest irritation, man was ever subjected to; and which, but for the use, he himself turned my own private letters to Lord Ellenborough to afterwards, would, perhaps, never have been fulfilled. Though, at the same time, I have always disclaimed, on my own account, and repudiated, in regard of others, what Sir William Napier, in the *Life* of his brother, calls "*a very convenient rule for official liars.*" In point of fact, if private letters were never to be adduced in evidence, under any circumstances, there could be no check whatever on falsehood or dishonesty in any shape; for, in nine cases out of ten, it is only by a resort to such evidence, that acts of the kind can be established. The only practicable rule to follow, has always seemed to me to be very clear. It is, that the laws of honour can never be appealed to, to shield actions either criminal or dishonourable; any more than the laws of nations, or the laws of war, can be appealed to, by those who repudiate all regard to them, in their dealings with other men. Whether Mr. Disraeli and his colleagues had acted honourably towards myself, I must leave to those I am now addressing to determine; but, for my part, I can conceive no conduct more entirely opposed to honour's dictates, than that which he and they have, throughout the whole affair, pursued.

Accordingly, I set to work with the materials at my disposal, with a view of laying the case before the country; and ascertaining how far such conduct, was really in accordance with the principles of public life in England. When so engaged, I received a letter from a literary gentleman of the party, a friend of Mr. Disraeli's and my own, who had received a public appointment through his influence; repeating a request, which he had before made me, to write a review for him, of the Indian Legislation of the Session. I told him in reply, that I would never write another line, for any publication that supported the Derbyites; and that, though I was engaged on a review of the Indian Legislation of the Session, it was not exactly of a kind to suit his pages. In short, I told him of the manner in which I had been treated, and my intention to lay an account of the whole affair before the public. The gentleman appeared alarmed, and began to expostulate with me, but I refused to listen to his representations; till after several letters had passed between us, he made a kind of appeal, *ad misericordiam*, to me on behalf of Mr. Disraeli, to whom, he said, I should be doing a cruel injustice; for, *that the Indian arrangements had been made in deference to Lord Derby, and in opposition to the rest of the Cabinet, Lord Derby, at the same time, submitting to an influence which is irresistible in the councils of the Queen.* And again, after further revelations, re-iterating this argument, and the appeal founded on it; he begged me *not to forget that behind the Government is a secret influence, which no man holding office dare resist, in deference to the Queen.*

The allusion, of course, is to the Prince Consort; and I must leave His Royal Highness to settle with Mr. Disraeli, how far he chooses to have his and the Queen's

confidence betrayed, and his name lugged by that gentleman's friend and negociator, into such an affair. To me, who construe the oath taken by every Cabinet minister, in its plain natural sense, there seems that nothing could be in grosser violation of it, than what was thus, on the authority, as it may be supposed, of Mr. Disraeli himself, proclaimed. For the chief pledge in that oath is, that the Queen's advisers shall faithfully and truly declare their mind and opinion to her in all things, according to their best heart and conscience. Yet here it was avowed plainly, tnat the Cabinet had all advised her, in a manner directly contrary to their true mind and opinion, merely to curry favour with the Prince Consort; and so, at the sacrifice of their oaths as Privy Councillors, and of their duty to the Queen, to the Prince Consort himself, and to the country; supplement what was wanting to them, in the confidence of the nation, by His Royal Highness' support. Then again, another leading pledge in that oath is, that the Queen's counsel shall be kept secret; yet here it was professed to be disclosed, without any scruple, for the purpose of screening Mr. Disraeli, from the consequences of his own misconduct towards myself. A third pledge is, that he shall suffer no act to be done, or words spoken, derogatory to his Sovereign's honour or well-being; yet it is difficult to imagine anything, more calculated to injure a Constitutional Queen, in the esteem and loyal regard of her people, than the promulgation, as on the authority of a member of her Cabinet, of such statements as these.

But, if this would be bad enough in any case; more especially must it be so, when the question it related to, was one, that, as none could know better than Mr. Disraeli himself, would rather be aggravated and envenomed than settled; by the course which the Cabinet were thus said to have advised Her Majesty, in contravention of their own convictions, to pursue. For none could judge more clearly, what a renewal of the sway of the old Directors, in the guise of Councillors of India, must lead to; as none had taken the measure of them, more accurately than he had done. The new evils the country has to face, in connection with that most misgoverned empire, are bad enough; evils mainly originating in that fatal course. But what must be the feeling of the public in connection with them, when told on such authority; that all is owing to the Derbyite ministers, having felt compelled to sacrifice their own convictions, in order to secure the influence in their behalf, of the Consort of the Queen. To me, the want of honour exhibited towards myself, seems but as a grain of dust in the balance; compared with that shown, in trying to throw on the shoulders of the Prince Consort, the whole odium of their proceedings; in order to shelter Mr. Disraeli from the consequences, which his own want of principle had deserved. But this is ever the way with time-servers. The loudest in their professions of devotion, the most subservient in re-echoing even the faintest expression of every opinion that falls from Royal lips, are generally the first to betray, behind their backs, those whom, to their faces, they have professed almost to adore. God help the Sovereign, if ever disasters should threaten her, that places her confidence in men like these!

Under the pressure of this appeal, *ad misericordiam*, on behalf of Mr. Disraeli, I answered; that as all I had ever required from the Government, was that the slur, which its proceedings were calculated to affix to my character, should be removed; I was quite willing to accede, at once, to any settlement by which that object was attained; and to leave it, with that proviso, in Mr. Disraeli's hands.

This announcement was received by my correspondent with great satisfaction; and he declared, in his reply, that it was *worthy of my good genuine feelings*. But soon afterwards, he told me that my letter to Lord Ellenborough, of which the contents had been communicated to Mr. Disraeli, and by, or through, him to my informant, stood in the way; and that, therefore, until I returned Mr. Disraeli all his letters to me, he would not be able to stir in the affair. But for that, he told me, the whole thing could have been settled by him, to my satisfaction, in half-an-hour. His proposition, however, on this head, *I refused to assent to;* because, as I said, either the Government had been guilty of great

injustice to me, in not following up the complete exoneration of me, conveyed in Lord Ellenborough's decision, on the case raised up against me by the Directors; or they had not been so. In the former event, they had only now to repair that injustice, and thus show, that they had had no intention of acting dishonourably towards me: in the latter, how was it possible that they could give me a satisfaction, they did not hold me entitled to: and what, in either case, had the course to be pursued by them, to do with Mr. Disraeli's letters? However, it was still the same story with the negociator, and still the same reply on my part; till the negociation was suspended, for the moment, and the gentleman left town.

The negociation, thus suspended, was renewed by him, after a short delay; when he, for the first time, began to drop hints of some other charges, at the India House, against me. I was very much surprised, at this, for I knew of nothing but what had been disposed of; while the fact of my having been recommended, in 1855, by the Directors themselves, for brevet rank, which I had received, was proof enough to me, that there *could* be nothing worth noticing against me; or I could not have been then recommended, by them, for an honour to the Crown. However, I was determined, if possible, to get at once to the bottom of this new business; and so, in the absence of my informant, who had to leave me for a couple of hours, to keep another appointment, I, at once, sat down, and wrote an official letter of the following tenor, to Lord Stanley, the Secretary of State for India.

I said that, the day before Lord Ellenborough's India Bill was introduced into the House of Commons, he had intimated, to me, his selection of me to be a member of the Council of India, to be appointed under the bill. That, on the following day, he forwarded, to me, some extracts from a despatch from the Court of Directors, to the Government of Bombay, written after I left India, impugning my conduct as Collector and Magistrate of Hydrabad; which, there being no reply, of mine, to it on record, he said must be fatal to the course he had proposed. He added, that this might be the cause of much hardship and injustice to me, as it was possible I had never seen, or even heard of, the despatch in question; but there it stood on record, without any reply to it; and it was impossible, therefore, to name me for the Council in the Bill.

That, immediately on this, I did what every man of honour would have done in like circumstances: met the charge against me in every particular; and was informed, by his lordship, after he had carefully gone through my answer, that it was "*very satisfactory;*" and so I concluded that the attacks on me, by the India House, were at an end.

That, I was now informed, that since then, other minutes had been drawn forth from their pigeon-holes, which seemed to be amply provided with these kind of weapons to assail political foes. The Return to the House of Commons was an instance, no doubt, in his lordship's recollection; as it was the subject of such strong annimadversion, by Mr. Henry Bruce, Sir William Codrington, and Mr. Roebuck, in the previous year. But that, if that new era of justice, was to be inaugurated as regards India, which was promised in the Queen's Speech, I thought it must be obvious, that this system of destroying character by secret minutes, should cease; the more especially, as in the only instances in which they had come to light, they had proved to be foundationless and false.

That, I had, therefore, the honour to solicit, at the hands of his lordship, that all other minutes might then be communicated to me for reply, if I could reply to them, that stood on the records of the India House, and that affected my public or private character in any degree; for it did seem to me to be too much, that when held to have deserved the highest rewards for my public labours, I was thus to find myself debarred from them, by secret minutes, which I had, till then, never heard of; written by persons wholly irresponsible, and whose hostility to me was notorious; and which, in the only instances in which I had had an opportunity of meeting them, had proved to be untrue.

That, in making this request, I was not asking any favour at the hands of his lordship; I was only asking, what I conceived to be the plainest equitable right, of the humblest subject of the Crown.

Having written and dispatched this letter, I supposed that all my annoyances would now, at last, be at an end. Lord Stanley would, of course, comply at once with a request so reasonable and proper; my reply to these new imputations, whatever they might be, he would carefully weigh, and conscientiously arrive at a decision on; and my own breast told me, that whatever they were, I should have, in that case, no cause to fear for the result. Alas! I little understood the depths of Derbyite trickery; and though I had already had some sample of it, I was really altogether unprepared, for what was now to take place.

On the return of my friend, the negociator on Mr. Disraeli's behalf, I communicated to him what I had done; but he seemed quite taken aback by the intelligence, more especially as I told him, that, of course, there was nothing now left but to await the issue. That issue, however, I was, in a day or two, informed by him, in a note he wrote me, was not quite so near as I had calculated on. The government, he said, were quite prepared to meet me frankly; but there was an impression on its part, that I wanted something more than an opportunity to clear myself, if any charges were against me, or on the other hand, a frank statement that there was nothing against me. Was he justified, therefore, he asked, in saying that I wanted nothing at their hands; and would I give him a paper, saying, that they might keep their honours and appointments, for all that I cared?

Now I will here pause, and ask one question. If the Government believed in the truth of the charges, whatever they were, at the India House, that I had desired to be furnished with; what earthly necessity could there be, for asking me for a written pledge beforehand, that I would not pursue the advantage beyond certain limits, which could only possibly accrue to me, in the event of my full and honourable acquittal of them? If, on the other hand, they believed be to be entirely innocent of those charges; what could possibly be more disgraceful, than to require from me such conditions, before making that innocence manifest, and tendering me the fullest reparation; as it would, in that case, be their bounden duty to do, as honest servants of the Crown? Such was the view I took of the proposition; and I sent, therefore, a reply to it, declining it in the most peremptory terms; concluding, by saying, that "if the Government had one single spark of honour in their composition, they would only be too eager to offer such reparation to me, provided I but made my deliverance clear; instead of attempting to strike hard bargains beforehand with me, as a condition of doing me justice; which, if I understood them rightly, would, if brought before Parliament, put them in considerable jeopardy of being expelled the House."

This was followed, by a sort of exculpatory note from the negociator, who appeared to have taken the alarm again, and said, that the idea had originated with himself; though it did not appear to me at all probable, or even possible, that either that, or any other of the steps taken by him, could have originated in any other source, than the promptings of those behind the curtain, to whom he was evidently perpetually referring for instructions, and on whose behalf he professed to act. However, in the meantime, the papers from the Secretary of State reached me; when I looked into them with the greatest eagerness, to see of what they could consist. To my astonishment, I found that all that was on record about me at the India House, and which had been the subject of such a mighty fuss, consisted in the report of Mr. Frere, which had been already disposed of by Lord Ellenborough, who had declared my explanation to be *very satisfactory*:—and the second report of his, which I had challenged for untruthfulness, in India, at the end of 1853, and before the Directors in England, in January 1854; and into which I had only withdrawn my renewed demand, for enquiry, in *the spring of* 1858, on Lord Ellenborough and Mr. Disraeli intimating, to me, that their *sentiments regarding me, had* remained unchanged. Well might the attempt be made, to

strike hard bargains with me beforehand; when this was all that the Directors could rake up against me, in a service of nearly thirty years.

Even had the censure passed on me been a just one, and the report it was based on founded in truth; there would have been nothing in it to affect my character, or future prospects, in any way. It had not prevented my receiving the brevet, in 1855; and though convenient, perhaps, if it could stand investigation, as an excuse for the Derbyites' dirty conduct towards me, on the present occasion; it need not, even if unimpeachable in itself, have prevented any further honour or favour, that the Government thought fit to bestow. It was, at most, but tantamount to a vote of censure, or want of confidence, in a minister; having no further effect beyond that of the moment, at which it was passed. Lord Ellenborough, for instance, had been censured, and recalled from the Governor-Generalship; but that had not prevented the Derbyites from appointing him their first Indian minister. Sir James Outram had been censured, and dismissed from the Resident-ship of Baroda; but that had never interfered with his after-prospects in any way. Colonel Durand had been censured, and dismissed from the Principal Commissionership at Moulmein; yet, neither did that affect his position afterwards, or prevent his being elected into the India Council, through the influence of Lord Stanley himself, as Secretary of State. Finally, Lord Clyde had thrown up his command on the Punjaub frontier, in 1853, under a censure, which he told me, with his own lips, that old as he was, and poor as he was, he would rather break stones on the roads for a livelihood, than submit to; yet that did not prevent his being appointed afterwards, most properly, to be Commander-in-Chief. I could name dozens of such instances, if I thought fit; but confine myself to those of, at once, the greatest notoriety, and most recent date. Thus, even if the censure had been a just one, because founded on a report of unimpeachable truth, it would have afforded no sort of justification for the Government's behaviour to me personally; setting aside its conduct to the public on the India question. But, in point of fact, neither the censure, nor the report it was based on, had a leg to stand on.

It was, in fact, one of the most disgraceful things to the Directors, that all the foul pages of their history bear on record. It was such a case, as never could have happened, under any other government under the sun. In Turkey, the occurrence of anything half so infamous, would have been simply impossible; for, in a question affecting the rights of husbands and fathers, and the honour of women, even a Turkish Cadi dare not, for either bribes or secret influence, fail to do his duty. In Naples, under Bomba, it would have been equally out of the question; for that monarch appears to have had some sense of religion and morality, however perverted, on other subjects, his views may have been. A more cruel case, no doubt, could have been found there; indeed, from Mr. Gladstone's description, there were plenty such:—but never one more scandalously disgraceful, whether, as regards the people of the country; or, as a specimen of the mode, in which every principle of truth and justice could be violated, without remorse, or scruple, of any kind. Well might the Directors have studiously omitted all notice of it, from the *Scinde Blue Book* of 1854; as well as kept it back, when they placed, in the hands of Lord Ellenborough, their paper of reasons, why I should not be appointed to the office, they were themselves all candidates for: and to which, *after those reasons had been decided to be foundationless*, they, by favour of Lord Stanley, managed to succeed. What delicate disinterestedness; how unlike the low jobbers and tricksters, they have been, by their enemies, described! How fitted to sit in judgment on me, by an entire absence of all pecuniary, as well as other, interest in the result! How safe must be the interests of India, in such pure hands!

The case, itself, was as follows: On my return from Egypt, to India, in the spring of 1853, I found myself censured, by the Government, for the course which I had taken, in reference to a Belooch regiment at Hydrabad; which had made itself disgracefully conspicuous, before my departure on sick certificate; by its misconduct in debauching and carrying off, sometimes forcibly, sometimes otherwise, the wives, daughters, and sisters of

the people there,—assaulting, in the most brutal manner, the husbands, fathers, and brothers endeavouring to recover them,—singing infamous songs, under respectable women's windows: and doing other acts, calculated to inflame a Mahomedan population, to the highest pitch of fury and resentment. In the particular instance in question, they had carried off a man's wife, for the fourth time, from him, in defiance of as many decrees, restoring her to her husband, issued by the Civil Court; and they had knocked him down, and beaten him till he was nearly senseless, when proceeding to recover her, accompanied by two policemen, armed with the warrant of my deputy magistrate, at Hydrabad. Evidence had been given, indeed, that, but for the presence of these policemen, they would probably have killed him. Nor was this an isolated case; it was merely part of a continuous system. A system that had arisen out of the absurd plan, introduced after Sir Charles Napier left Scinde, of making sepoys, there, amenable only to their own officers, in respect of civil, as well as military, crimes. A plan which, of course, left the peace of the country, as far as their men were concerned, at the mercy of every commanding officer's discretion; and, in this case, the commanding officer had shown himself, throughout, imbued with but one idea—that of screening his men, to the uttermost, in every blackguardism they committed. What more natural, than that, under such a sense of impunity, they should have become, what Mr. Frere himself had told me, his own sources of information led him to believe them to be; namely, "*in their then state, a public nuisance.*"

The whole records of the preceding year and a half, during which they had been under the temporary command of their then commander, (the proper commandant, an excellent officer, who had put down every disorder, with a most rigid hand, being away on sick certificate), were full of the details of their misconduct. When on detachment duty at Omerkote, a party of them had attempted to carry off a girl, the daughter of one of the villagers; the police, in endeavouring, in company with the townspeople, to rescue her, were repelled by force; and wounds had been given. The excitement on this occasion had been so great, that I had been compelled to bring the matter to the notice of Mr. Frere's predecessor, Mr. Pringle, the then Commissioner; with a request that the law might be changed, and Sepoys again made amenable to civil jurisdiction, as all the rest of the people were, and as they too had been in Sir Charles Napier's time: it being impossible to preserve order among them, unless the Government passed the measure. This recommendation Mr. Pringle had concurred in, and forwarded it on to Government; by whom, after I had left Scinde for Egypt, the required change in the law was made. Cases of carrying off women, under circumstances almost equally bad, though unattended by consequences so serious, were constantly brought before the civil courts; which, however, had no power to deal with them, beyond restoring the women to their friends; while the officer in command of the regiment used, on his part, no effective means of repression. Sham suits were, in one or two instances, got up, to bring women, living in the districts, before the Hydrabad Courts; and then a party of Sepoys had turned out, and carried them forcibly into the lines, in utter contempt of the civil power. While complaints were being constantly made, before my deputy magistrate at the station, and the lieutenant of police, of Beelooch Sepoys insulting or carrying off women, and assaulting their male relations when in search of them; till the evil had reached a pitch, it was impossible any longer to endure. For when the offenders, whom the civil authorities had no power, under the new rule, to punish, were sent to their commanding officer for that purpose; he had been in the habit of replying to them, in notes of such a tenor, that they had been compelled to bring them to me, and submit them for my inspection, with a request for my advice as to what to do. The specimens of notes which they exhibited to me, and which they expressed themselves as determined, not any longer to put up with, were couched in the grossest terms the English language admits of. The substance of one of them, put as decently as it can be rendered, was, that if Scindees chose to marry wives, whose conjugal claims on them they could not properly satisfy, his men had a *perfect right* to satisfy them for them. While the other, explained in equally gross language,

that the police had no right to interfere with his men's amours, unless they were themselves prepared, to act as pandars for them.

This, of course, was quite intolerable; and at my suggestion, under the sanction of the Commissioner, Mr. Pringle, all communication with regimental commanding officers was put an end to; and cases were in future, to be referred to the brigadier. In handing up such a one, where a man's wife had been carried off, I was compelled to add, that I solicited his taking steps, to put a stop to such outrages by men of the 2nd Belooch Regiment in future, as I understood, that similar cases were of constant occurrence. The woman was recovered, but the case having been referred by the brigadier to the commanding officer, no punishment appeared to have been inflicted on the offender; and soon after, I had again to apply, about another such case to the brigadier. In requesting his attention to it, I, therefore, begged to bring to his notice, that *there had been more cases in the civil courts against the men of this regiment, during the preceding seven months, than against all the rest of the brigade put together, during the whole seven years since the conquest of the province.* A reference to the lieutenant of police and the deputy magistrate, showed, in fact, that the cases against men of this regiment in the preceding ten months, had been a hundred and sixty-two; while the cases, against all the rest of the regiments, and departments, in the brigade, put together, during the period, had only been eight; and none of these, of the character of those against the 2nd Belooch Regiment. Thus establishing, a far higher proportion of cases against them, as compared with the rest of the troops, than even my letter had indicated.

The result of this application to the brigadier, on my part, as chief magistrate of the district, and officially responsible for the peace of it, was a most insulting communication from the commanding officer of the regiment. And the consequence of that was, that the alternative was given him, by the brigadier-general commanding the division, of standing a court-martial; or presenting himself at my quarters, with the officers of his regiment, who had been parties to the act; and then and there reading, and signing, and leaving with me, an apology that was dictated to him by the brigadier-general; and which the Commissioner, Mr. Pringle, though leaving the point to my own decision, had thought that I might properly accept, as a sufficient satisfaction for what had taken place. At the same time, the most stringent orders were issued on the subject, of maintaining proper discipline in future; the assistant adjutant-general concluding his letter to the brigadier, at Hydrabad, as follows:—"I am directed to state, that the brigadier-general conceives something wrong must exist in the discipline and management of the interior economy of the 2nd Beelooch Regiment, or these constant complaints would not be made against the Sepoys to the civil authorities; and he shall be, therefore, obliged by your adopting stringent measures to prevent the men straying about the country, calling the attention of Captain ——— to the 60th article of war; and by your adopting such other precautionary measures as you may deem fit, to check the irregular habits, which men, of this description, constantly indulge in. Should it be necessary, they must be prohibited from entering the town of Hydrabad; and, moreover, it will be expedient to ascertain, that a suitable punishment be inflicted on all defaulters.

Such was the tone adopted by the brigadier-general on the occasion; such the steps he directed to be pursued, in reference to this regiment; and such the measure he had meted out, to the officer in command of it. For a period all went well; but, in course of time, the old kind of thing commenced again; and the outrage committed on the man, going to recover his wife, in company with two policemen armed with a magistrate's warrant, seemed such a climax of misconduct, that I was compelled to call the attention of the new brigadier, who had lately relieved the previous one, to what had occurred under his predecessor. And in doing so, I requested him to take measures to put a stop to these outrages; so dangerous to the peace of the country, in a land of bigoted Mahomedans, so excitable on the subject of their women, as were the people of Scinde. For the greater

part of the murders committed there, since the conquest, had been murders connected with the infidelity of wives, or sisters, or daughters; and the greater part of the men who had been hanged in the period, had been hanged for that crime. Death, indeed, seemed to have no terrors for them, when the avenging a wife's, or sister's, or daughter's incontinence was in question. A man would cut down the offending woman, and, if he could, her paramour; and then give himself up to justice, with as little concern about the consequences, as though life were of no account to him, in comparison with the gratification of his revenge.

Sir Charles Napier did his best to put a stop to the practice; but he was too just a man to proceed to such extremities, against a crime so common, and involving, what the people deemed, their inherent right, without, at the same time, doing all in his power to put an end to the occasion of it; by inflicting penalties on the male-destroyer of another's honour, scarcely less terrible to a native, than that which he put down. In the first case that came before me, after his proclamation; the adulterer, whose misconduct had brought death on the partner of his guilt, was sentenced, by me, with Sir Charles' cordial approval, to seven years hard labour in irons. He was a police horseman, and there never came before me, if I remember rightly, another public servant charged with the same offence; till these perpetually recurring cases, of men of the 2nd Belooch Regiment. The people of Scinde thus saw, that their honour was safe in the hands of their great conqueror, and of his chief lieutenant; but it could be deemed so no more, if such outrages were to be perpetrated with impunity, by every Sepoy, under the knowledge, that he was no longer amenable to the civil courts for the crime.

How then, knowing these things, could I sit still, when I saw such ignominy heaped, by the blackguards of this regiment, on the heads of a people, whom I, myself, had first led into the paths of civilization; and, to whom, my great commander had so pledged himself, to respect their feelings, in regard to this their tenderest and sorest point? How could I refrain from speaking out, when I saw that the evil, if not arrested, might set the whole country in a flame; as it had done Affghanistan, when the same practices were carried on, by our soldiery, there; and thus, again, deluge Scinde with blood? Why should I hesitate about calling on the brigadier, most emphatically, to enforce order among a regiment; whose commanding officer had declared, in such language, as he had used, that the only fitting business of Scindee wives, was to satisfy his men's desires; and that the duty of the police, was not to repress their disorders, but, on the contrary, to aid them in procuring objects of debauch? Is that a doctrine, that any minister, of the Crown of England, will be supported in endorsing, in the name of his honoured and virtuous Queen? Would he not, on the contrary, be held guilty of the vilest treason to that lady; by doing all that in him lay, to make her, a daughter, a sister, a wife, and a mother, appear as giving a virtual sanction and countenance, to the perpetration of infamies, by her native soldiers, in regard to the daughters, and sisters, and wives, and mothers, of Scinde; such as the most abandoned monarch, that ever sat on a throne in Christendom, would have shrunk from giving the sanction of his royal authority to, however profligate might have been the habits of his private life? Nay, more: I say, that after the solemn declaration, made by the Queen, in her proclamation, which, in the face of England, and of Europe, she called God to witness, such an act would be a gross betrayal of her plighted oath. "We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories, (said her Majesty, on that occasion) by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects; and those obligations, by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil." Why even in Pagan Rome, the perpetration of such infamies, in regard to the people of the subject provinces, was considered so intolerable; that Cicero made it one of his chief charges against Verres, that the latter had given encouragement to them in the dependency, over which he ruled. And he fortified himself in the denunciation, by quoting the sentiments on the *subject of every* Roman citizen on the spot; sentiments delivered in language entirely

in accordance with that, which, in my own letters on the Scinde case, I used. "*Inventus est nemo, cujus non hæc et sententia esset et oratio;—Non esse metuendum si istius nefarium scelus Lampasceni ulti vi manuque essent, ne senatus populusque Romanus in eam civitatem animadvertendum putaret. Quod si hoc jure, legati populi Romani in socios nationesque exteras uterentur, ut pudicitiam liberorum servare ab eorum libidine tutam non liceret, quidvis esse perpeti satius, quam in tantâ vi atque acerbitate versari.*"

The only question, therefore, that the case admits of, is, whether the events, described by me, had, or had not, taken place. If they had; then, (as the judicial Secretary at Bombay, in whose department the matter fell, expressly stated to me, when he had become aware of the truth, and convinced that the disorders, I had depicted, had in no way been exaggerated), I deserved, instead of being censured, *to be highly complimented for the zeal and energy displayed by me, under most trying circumstances; in my endeavours to put down excesses, of the existence of which, there could be no doubt; and which were not more dangerous from their possible consequences, to the Government itself, than they were fatal to the peace and welfare of the people committed to my care.* The Punjaub Board of Administration took, from the outset, the same view, of the necessity of the most stringent measures, for the suppresion of the same crime there. *The men of the Punjaub* (say they in their first *Report*, p. 44, para. 200), *regard adultery with a vindictiveness only to be appeased by the death or mutilation of the parties; yet, in no country are instances of female depravity and conjugal infidelity so frequent. The injured parties, accustomed, under native rule, to exact the most fearful retribution, are apt to hate any system of law which shall not give such redress as their revenge may demand, and resolve that adultery shall be expiated by murder. The Board are anxious, therefore, that such offences, which are in themselves socially dangerous, and which, if not promptly and exemplarily punished, will assuredly lead to a series of other crimes, should be assailed with all the vigour and power of the criminal law.*

It must be as clear as possible, therefore, I repeat, that the only substantial question at issue in this instance was; whether the facts, as to the alleged habitual misconduct of this regiment, were or were not, as stated, by me. If so, there could of course, be no ground for censure on me, in the mere fact, that I had wounded the susceptibilities of the officer in command of it; even though he did happen to be a protegé of the Governor, in my renewed appeal to the brigadier for his aid, in putting the outrages in question down. *That*, as the judicial Secretary admitted, was the question really before the Government; and, regarding it, they had been guided by the report of the Commissioner, Mr. Frere. For the facts above noticed, had never been brought before the Government itself; they had merely stood on the provincial records of Scinde. But in this report, sent in by Mr. Frere to the Government of Bombay, while I was away sick in Egypt; and on the strict accuracy of which, on this point, the whole case depended; he said, that if the conduct of that regiment had been as described by me, he thought he must have heard of it, from the lieutenant of police, and deputy magistrate at Hydrabad, when he subsequently visited that station. And, that as they had been wholly silent to him, regarding it; he believed, for his part, that it must have been as well behaved in quarters, as it had appeared steady on a parade, that he had witnessed. An opinion, I may remark, that was happily illustrated, just after my leaving India, by its murder of the subadar major of the regiment, and its attempt to murder the commanding officer!

Now, such a misstatement as this of Mr. Frere's, might have been excusable, if made in the heat of the moment; without any opportunity for previous enquiry. Because, as Mr. Frere had not been in Scinde, when the conduct of that regiment had before been brought under the notice of the Commissioner; it was not unnatural that he should be unacquainted with it, till his attention had been specially called by me, to the facts and papers regarding it, in his office records. But, on my way down from Hydrabad, on

route to Bombay, I had seen Mr. Frere at Currachee, where he had asked me to stay with him, though I did not accept the invitation; and I had there, held a long conversation with him on the subject. I had called his attention to the events of the preceding year, and to the notes of which the lieutenant of police and deputy magistrate had complained to me; and he had then distinctly stated to me, that he had no desire to take the part of that regiment or its commanding officer; "*his own sources of information leading him to believe it to be in its then state a public nuisance.*" To report, therefore, to the Government behind my back, that he believed it to be *a model of good order*, when he had distinctly told me to my face, that he believed it to *be* in *its then state a public nuisance;* and this, after his notice had been expressly called by me, to all that stood regarding it, on his own office records;—was not merely to make a report that was untrue in itself, but to make one which, it is difficult to understand, how he could fail to have known to be untrue at the time he made it. And this, the more especially, as there is not only his language to myself, and the fact that he had had ample time to refer to all that had taken place regarding the regiment under his predecessor, (of which, after I had so pointedly called his attention to it, he could not possibly plead ignorance);—but, also the additional circumstance, which it seems to me impossible to get over; that while he said, that if the regiment had been in the habit of misconducting itself, as stated by me, he thought he should have heard of it from the lieutenant of police, and my deputy magistrate, when he had in the interim visited the station; yet on that visit, and indeed ever since the commencement of the discussion, *he had studiously avoided questioning those gentlemen, at all upon the subject.*

And he had thus studiously avoided questioning them on the subject; though my own statements regarding the affair had been avowedly, and, as he knew, necessarily, based upon the reports and references of those gentlemen, to me, in my capacity of chief magistrate of the district! A position in which, as Mr. Frere was well aware, my judicial duties were more analogous to those of a judge of assize in England, than a police magistrate; my functions in connection with the administration of criminal justice, consisting chiefly in trying prisoners committed for trial before me, by the lieutenant of police and deputy magistrates; and not in taking cases, of the kind referred to, in the first instance. For my own powers extended to the infliction of penal servitude for seven years, without the confirmation of higher authority, and of death or transportation for life subject to such confirmation; while the powers of my deputies, and of the lieutenant of police, were of a much more subordinate description. It was, therefore, only through the references to me of these officers, that I could have had any official knowledge of, or connection with the cases, which had formed the subject of the correspondence; and this, even if it had not been expressly so stated there, Mr. Frere must have known just as well as I did. That Mr. Frere, therefore, should have so studiously avoided, so simple, so obvious, so instantaneous, and so necessary a mode of arriving at the truth of the matter, as that of questioning those gentlemen, on whose reports to me, my own report to him had avowedly been founded; can only be accounted for rationally, by the fact, which his previous conversation with me had most clearly established; that he knew perfectly well, that if he had questioned them, the result, instead of furthering his object, would have defeated it entirely.

No man of common sense, could make any other deduction from a course so perfectly unparalleled, in judicial, or indeed, in any other proceedings. And this view will I think, be confirmed, when I add, that I had begged him to have the second in command, and the adjutant of the regiment, questioned confidentially upon the subject; knowing that their testimony, even though it was their own regiment, might be perfectly relied on. But this, too, he had carefully avoided doing; though for what reason, unless that which affords so natural a solution of his conduct, it is certainly beyond my power to discover. If the truth was his object, I cannot understand, why he should have so pertinaciously resisted, all these clear and simple modes, which I had suggested to him, of eliciting it. That the

same view, was taken of his behaviour on this point, by the deputy magistrate of the station and the lieutenant of police, was clear; from a note to me from the former, of which I sent an extract to the Court of Directors; and from the personal testimony of the latter, whom I offered to produce before them in Leadenhall Street, he being then at home on furlough. Both these, while bearing witness, to the entire accuracy of my statements regarding the conduct of that regiment, in my letters to Mr. Frere,—assured me that the reason why they had said nothing to him about it, when he was at Hydrabad, at the time alluded to by him, was; that *they could see perfectly well, that he desired to hear nothing about it; and that to have volunteered any statements on the subject to him, confirmatory of what I had told him, would have only brought down on them his displeasure!* Has any thing more infamous than this, been adduced by Mr. Gladstone, as practised by the officials of the crown of Naples? If there has, let him point out the passage; for I can find nothing more disgraceful, throughout his whole two letters. If there has not, then I hope that he, and the other members of the House of Commons, will show themselves honest enough, to refuse to sanction here, the same perversions of justice, which, when practised there, he has so justly handed over to universal execration. The rank and fortune, and high official position, of those incriminated there by him, have not been accepted, as affording any necessary refutation of his statements; and the same rule ought to guide him, and all, on the present occasion. So far from these being valid reasons, for staving off inquiry, they but make it the more essential; for the higher the official position, of those whose conduct is impeached, the more necessary it is, to have the matter effectually investigated. A tide-waiter who misconducts himself, can do comparatively little harm; but the powers for evil, of a high official, are almost unlimited; while any misconduct or perversion of justice on his part, reflects dishonour on the entire country.

Into the question of the general merits or demerits of Mr., now Sir Bartle Frere, I have no desire to enter. He may be all his friends allege, as an administrator; though I have my own opinion on the subject. I know that other men, have made themselves names before now, by dint of perpetually blowing their own trumpets; of getting at the weak sides of men in power; and of exercising a little tact, in dealing with the professional trumpet-blowers to the public. But, apart from all this, I am not aware of any solid advantages, that have been produced to the country, by the services of Mr. Frere. His first essay in the little state of Sattara, was a very costly one to the government. It had been the best paying state in India, of its size; but under his management, the result was, a deficit, amounting to something like three times its whole annual revenue. Large sums were expended by him in various works; the greater part of which, I believe, proved ultimately useless. They certainly have, proved non-remunerative; for the revenue has not, I think, improved a farthing since that period. In Scinde, he had nothing to do, but to build on foundations ready laid for him. Sir Charles Napier had done every thing to his hand, with the aid of his lieutenants, of whom I had the honour to be the principal. All that was requisite, was to carry on a government already perfected in every part; and continue works to their completion, which Sir Charles had already planned or commenced. The great addition to the trade of Currachee, the chief feature of improvement in Scinde, is the result, not of Mr. Frere's genius, but of that of the late Sir Charles Napier; who turned into an efficient harbour, what nature appeared to have ever precluded from being so, by a bar at its entrance, and a mudbank on its shore, of some miles in length. Then again the wool-trade, is a trade with Affghanistan, begun long before Mr. Frere ever set foot in the province: and which has depended, for its development, on the same causes which have operated in regard to the same staple elsewhere; and which have certainly had nothing to do, with any measures of the Commissioner in Scinde. In the same way, a large portion of the increased commerce of the port, is simply a diversion to that extent, from what was before the trade of Bombay. Currachee having become the port of landing, for so much railway plant, as well as for the troops and stores for the

Punjaub and the whole North-West of India,—has become the place of import, for all the supplies and articles of traffic connected with them, as a matter of course; as well as of much more besides. Irrespectively of its greater proximity, to the destined market for those supplies and articles of traffic; it has an advantage, in being the port of arrival for troopships, which alone would turn the scale. For, ship-owners chartering vessels to the government, usually obtain a rate of freight, sufficient to enable them, to afford to fill up their spare tonnage outwards, and their full tonnage homewards, on much lower terms than could be accepted by vessels, which had to rely for their profits, on mercantile freight alone.

But setting aside this addition to the trade of Scinde, which has had nothing whatever to do with the measures of the Commissioner, who has only built on the foundations Sir Charles Napier had laid; let us turn to the land revenue, or rental of the province, the true test of any real development of a country's resources, where mines and factories are unknown. What do we find in respect of this, to have been the result of the administration of Mr. Frere? Why, we find that, though Sir Charles Napier calculated, on leaving Scinde in 1847, that its land revenue ought to double itself in the next ten years; and though there is no reason why it should not have done so, if judicious measures only had been adopted, or the plans formed to Mr. Frere's hand, been but fairly carried out;—and though in the nine years, during which he has been Commissioner, every requisition of his for money, has been ungrudgingly responded to, and he has been allowed to draw between four and five hundred thousand pounds annually, beyond the revenue which the province has produced, or between four and five millions sterling in all;—yet the whole of this vast outlay, has not, in his hands, produced one single penny of return to the government in any shape. The enormous works, which such an expenditure ought to represent, if existent, have not yielded to the revenue, or rental of the government, one single farthing of increase. As far as any profit to the government, as the great landlord of the province, is concerned, the whole of the money, might just as well have been thrown into the sea. Nay, more; if the rental of the lands, since confiscated from Meer Ali Morad, be omitted, as of course they must be, from the calculation,—Scinde actually produces now, a less amount of land revenue or rental to the government, notwithstanding all this immense expenditure on it, than it did, when Mr. Frere first set foot in the province, in 1851!

It has been just the old story of Sattara over again. Nor is it to be wondered at; for, on the one hand, while he introduced a rent-free tenure inquiry, on the plan of the Bombay Enam Commission, and its accompanying survey; in itself enough to frighten every man of property in the province, from embarking any further capital in improvements, or in loans for the improvement of the land; he has thrown the whole assessment and collection of the revenue, into the hands of a new class of officials, created after a Bombay model—the presidency par excellence, for every species of official corruption, extortion, and public plunder. Each of these has had a district assigned him, extending over, probably, some ten or fifteen thousand acres. He is obliged necessarily to keep a horse, for the performance of his duties; and must, besides providing for its keep, have a man to attend it. He must also, have another servant of some kind, to take care of his things and cook his victuals; and, in a country where all are married, he will most likely, have a wife and children to maintain besides. He must be able to read and write, and well versed in the duties of revenue assessment and collection. He must not be engaged in any other profession or business; because that would be contrary to the regulations. And being all this, he is entrusted with the almost absolute power, of fixing the rental to be levied by the government in each year, on every field in his district. For the government's demand consists, not in a stated sum, but in a share of the produce; and it is on his estimate that the amount of that produce is determined. He may make a true estimate, or he may make a false one, with little or no check on him; so long only as the cultivator himself does not come forward and impeach it. This, of course, the latter can have no interest in doing, if only allowed a moderate participation in the plunder jointly made. The largest opportunities for fraud are, therefore

open to him, if not on the cultivator, at least on the government he is hired to serve. For a field in Scinde, that produces fifty bushels the acre in one year, may not produce three the next; and when the ground, in one spot, is covered with crops of the greatest luxuriance, a precisely opposite spectacle may be presented, on other land of precisely the same quality not a hundred yards off. The whole depends on the rise and fall of the river; and whether the ground happens to be within, or without, the full influence of the inundation, in that particular year.

Such being Mr. Frere's arrangements, for collecting the land revenue of the province, in supercession of those in use under Sir Charles Napier and myself;—everything being thrown into these native officials' hands;—the interests of the government, were left to depend almost entirely, on the strict integrity with which they discharged their trust. For, otherwise, as there never were such facilities for fraud, afforded to public servants; so it might naturally be expected, that a very handsome share of the government's rightful revenue, would thenceforth be diverted annually, into these gentry's pockets. What, then, were the means taken to secure their honesty, in a trust so extensive as to be almost unlimited; and where, saving in their honesty, the government has really no security at all? Why, a salary was assigned them by Mr. Frere, that one may say, was a direct licence for peculation; because he must have known perfectly well, that, unless by peculation, it was impossible they could live on it at all. The salary, in short, of these men, whose expenditure must necessarily be so considerable; who had no lawful perquisites of any kind, and on whose integrity, the realization of the government's land revenue, entirely depended; was fixed by him, at exactly ten rupees, or nineteen shillings a-month, the pay of a private trooper in a native cavalry regiment in India, where the horse is government property; and just one-third of the pay of a private trooper in the Scinde horse, where the horse and its keep are found by the soldier himself!

Ye gentlemen of England, who wonder why it is that India cannot pay its expenses, try how your own estates will pay, if managed in the same manner. Adopt the plan of this great administrator; whom your Government has just selected, for his vast wisdom, to go and aid in the restoration of the finances of India. Go you also and appoint as agent, for, from every ten to fifteen thousand acres of your property, a man well versed in all the arduous, and responsible duties of that profession. Tie him not down to any rent-roll; but let him take from each of your tenants, a proportion of the produce, to be settled by his own estimate, from year to year. Do not descend to the meanness of the church in olden days, by requiring your sheaves to be marked and set apart, so that any one can count them; or to the somewhat analogous system, followed under Sir Charles Napier in Scinde. Let your agent, on the contrary, settle by view what you have to receive; and if the tenant is satisfied, do not yourselves be ungentlemanly enough, to question his award. Act the part of a truly confiding employer. Put your fortune entirely in your agent's hands. And, as a reward for the rare fidelity, and a guarantee for the unswerving honesty, you will necessarily expect from him; give him the exact number of pence a-day as salary, that her Majesty pays a private trooper of Dragoons. Tell him with that, to wrap himself up in his virtue; and purchase and provide for the horse he will require for his duties, the man to groom it, the servants that attend him, and the family that is dependent on him for bread.

Your estates, to be sure, will produce you no available surplus, for your own expenditure, under this grand system. On the contrary, you will be called on to lay out on them, as the government of India is on Scinde, a sum from the funds at your bankers' nearly double that collected annually as rent. But then you will find your reward, in the Frere-like accounts of improvements, which you will receive from your agent every year. And though these should, somehow or other, never bring you a penny of increased rental, or make your estate a whit more productive, apparently, than before; yet every one but yourself, at least, will be satisfied, and what further in all conscience, can you desire? As to your agent, his integrity will be guaranteed to you, by a miracle from heaven, not less conspicuous than that, which

was worked, in favour of the prophet's widowed friend. For the humble pittance you allow him, you will find so blessed to him; that on it he will be able, not merely to provide for every necessary, but actually to rival in his expenditure, the wealthiest country gentlemen in the land. In Scinde, a deputy collector has assured me, that he has seen a man with the nineteen shillings a-month, equal in retinue any noble; and why should not a similar sum, go equally far, under similar circumstances here? Happy plan—happy inventor of it—to derive such glories from his skill! If he can only persuade the Governor-General to adopt it for all India, the public felicity will be complete. There will, to be sure, be a deficit of about forty-five millions sterling annually, to be made good by loans in England; but then a reign of prosperity will be inaugurated (on paper), such as neither India nor England, ever saw before. Who, but the veriest churl, would object to the heaviest addition to our income-tax, to obtain such results as these?

But into these matters I have, as I said before, no desire to enter. Mr., or Sir Bartle, Frere, may be the best administrator, that ever saw the light, if it pleases the Government so to insist; and they may equally grant him honours, for the suppression of a mutiny, in which it would appear, alike from published and from private statements, that he took no part. Indeed, any extensive mutiny in Scinde, was impossible; because the Hindoostanees were aliens in blood, in religion, and in language, to all the people there. But these are points, as I said before, into which I do not desire to enter. All that concerns me, and which I have *a right* to insist on enquiry into; is, that in the report he made regarding me, to the Bombay Government, he deviated entirely from the truth. He reported untruly; and of this I gave Lord Stanley ample proofs in the papers I sent to him, and which I had sent to the Directors in 1854. Among those papers, were copies of the previous correspondence about the regiment; matters, not of opinion, but standing on record in black and white. I showed him that the judicial secretary at Bombay, after the censure he had drawn up on me for the Government, under that report; had himself informed me, that facts had come to his own personal knowledge, which proved to him, that the report of Mr. Frere was without doubt untrue. And I further showed him, that this secretary, had, like an honest man, endeavoured to obtain the rescission of a censure, thus passed on me on untruthful data; and done his best to obtain for me the compliment, which he said I had merited from the Government instead. An endeavour in which he was thwarted under circumstances, which, if I am rightly informed, he has since stigmatized in the severest terms.

I showed him, that similar language had been used regarding the matter, by a member of the Madras Council; who was at Bombay shortly afterwards, and had there heard of the affair. While one of the two members of council at Bombay, at the period, had all along been opposed to the Government proceedings; stating in his minute, that, in his opinion, even according to Mr. Frere's own account, I had done nothing to deserve the treatment proposed, for the performance of a public and strictly conscientious duty; and, that he did not see why the Commissioner, if, in the wrong, as he was, should be supported, by the Government. I also showed, that the other member of council, had allowed that the course which the Governor had decided to pursue, though he concurred in it to a certain extent, was illegal, and unprecedented. I showed that in 1854, I had offered to produce before the Directors several officers, then in England, who were in Scinde at the period, and who could prove the report of Mr. Frere to be untrue on the point in question. And, that among them, was the very lieutenant of police, at Hydrabad at the time; whom Mr. Frere had taken such very good care not to examine; while drawing from his silence, a corroboration of the case against me. I showed further, that the Government of Bombay, had proved their knowledge that Mr. Frere's report was untrue, by refusing to give me a copy of it, or allow me an opportunity of meeting it; a refusal not made till after the untruthfulness of it had been pointed out to them, and it became obvious, therefore, what the result of an enquiry must be. I gave, in short, such proofs, as must have had weight even in Naples; and, which, I *defy any man to read, and not to* be convinced, that Mr. Frere, in that report, had violated

the truth. What object, indeed, could the Bombay Government, or the Directors have had in refusing an enquiry, but the knowledge that the result of it, would be fatal to Mr. Frere? Would they, for an instant, have tolerated my using such language as I did of him;—would they have failed, to bring me to trial on the instant, for such reflections on one of the highest officers of their Government;—would they, for a moment, have put up with conduct, so derogatory to themselves;—unless they had felt that, say what I would, do what I would, everything was preferable to taking notice of it; as punishment must necessarily be preceded by enquiry; and enquiry would only result, in their favoured servant's discomfiture, and not in mine?

Having sent in my reply on the whole case, to Lord Stanley, officially, on the 4th of December; I, of course, supposed that the matter, would be brought to a speedy termination. If he approved of the past proceedings of the Directors, he would, of course, say so; and having taken the responsibility of their decision on his own shoulders, he would show that he had been guided by entire good faith in that conclusion; by giving me every facility, for carrying an appeal against it to Parliament, if I should feel so disposed. Or, if, on the other hand, he should dissent from those proceedings of the Directors, as it seemed to me impossible, but that he must do; he would, of course, take the necessary steps for securing justice for me, and reparation for the wrong which I had endured.

To my surprise, however, Lord Stanley, instead of giving any decision on the case, coolly and briefly, addressed me as follows:—"I have received and read your letter, explaining and vindicating your conduct in various matters, concerning which differences occurred between yourself and the authorities in India. As the questions to which you refer, were finally disposed of at the time, I do not feel called to express an opinion on them."

To this, I replied, on the instant, that I had the honour to acknowledge the receipt of his letter; but at the risk of being deemed importunate, must respectfully solicit him to reconsider the conclusion, at which he had arrived.

If the question to which I referred, (for Lord Ellenborough's note had left but one unsettled), had been allowed to remain buried in the oblivion, to which I had supposed the Directors themselves had been, but too glad to consign it; then, of course, there could be no reason for its being re-opened, at the present time. But, as this was not the case; as it had been resuscitated to my detriment, and might, if I did not bring it to a conclusive issue, be so resuscitated again; I submitted, that I was entitled, under every principle of equity, to demand that the grounds of the decision then given, should be gone into; and that if those grounds were found to be untenable, the decision should be reversed.

That this would be but reasonable, in any case, wherein justice appeared to have miscarried; even though the proceedings had been fair and open, and in accordance with usage; and the tribunal, which gave the decision, had used every means in its power to arrive at a judgment, that was truthful, impartial, and just. It was doubly so, in a case like the present, in which no man who read the papers, could doubt that the whole proceedings were a mere mockery of justice; or rather, a barefaced defiance of it, from first to last. I was still more entitled to make this demand; because I had shown to the satisfaction of his lordship's predecessor, Lord Ellenborough, as was proved by his note, that the other attack upon me, *which came from the same quarter as this*, was groundless throughout. And it did seem to me, to be the more imperative on his lordship, as a man of honour, to comply with this request, and perform this act of justice towards me, which his lordship's own convictions must tell him to be my due; because it was the Government itself, by putting me forward for an office I had not solicited, that was the cause, though the innocent one, of these imputations on my public character being produced.

That I did not adduce as an additional reason for this, that my father served the Crown for upwards of sixty years, with unsullied honour, shedding his blood in its defence; and, that I myself had served it, for nearly half that period, gaining rank on the field of battle, and performing eminent civil services, without the shadow of a charge of any kind, but these,

against me, from first to last. Both of them having been made behind my back, when I was ill and absent, and unable to protect myself;—both of them having been made by the same person;—one of them having been disproved to the satisfaction of Lord Ellenborough; and, the other admitted by the judicial Secretary at Bombay, at the time, to be foundationless;—and, which, notwithstanding the suspension of his lordship's verdict, I felt certain that I had shown his lordship to be untrue. Such pleas of former services, might be proper pleas in extenuation; if I had been guilty of anything, but a strict performance of my duty as a magistrate, without reference to rank, or colour, or creed. But all who knew anything of the matter, knew that this was not the case. They knew that the real cause of my being so dealt with, was the same that has made the East India Company, and its civil servants, throughout all time, as relentless, as they have been unscrupulous, in the persecution of all, who have dared to say a word against them. They knew that my real crime, was the being an ardent opponent of the civilian system of Government, the fruits of which were now seen; and the staunch and untiring supporter, of the bitterest enemy of the Company, the great Conqueror of Scinde. Just as his lordship must know, I supposed, that the ostensible motives of my opponents about his lordship, were not the real ones; and that their anxiety to crush me, (a thing, thank God beyond their power), sprang much less out of anything that I did, as a collector in India, than out of what I had done, in a very different capacity, to humble them at home.

Such was the letter I addressed to Lord Stanley, and though he knew perfectly well, that there was not a single word of it, that was not true; he remained deaf to my remonstrances, and gave a second specimen of his powers of evasion, in the following reply;—"Sir,—I have received your letter of yesterday, and have in reply to state, that I adhere to the determination contained in mine of the 18th. I remain, sir, your obedient servant, Stanley."—The affair was thus brought to this point.—I had already suffered damage at the hands of the Directors, through imputations, that had been decided by Lord Ellenborough to be foundationless, to an almost immeasurable extent. To prevent further injury to me, I had demanded an opportunity of meeting, once for all, everything of every kind, they had on record against me. In compliance with this demand, this second indictment, *from the same hand as the first, that had proved foundationless*, had been furnished me. I had pleaded to it, and was awaiting anxiously the judgment, that was to free me from this annoyance for ever; when Lord Stanley tells me, he has read my defence, but is not going to pass any opinion on it, and so breaks up the court; leaving me, plus, all my waste of time and trouble, precisely in the same position that I stood before! Did ever any one before hear of such a proceeding? Was not the pronouncing a decision on the matter, as essential, under the circumstances, to the character of the Directors, and Mr. Frere, themselves, as it was to mine? And will any one in his senses, believe that Lord Stanley would have hesitated to pronounce it; if he could have pronounced one, which would have brought off his new allies with triumph, and annihilated me? What clearer proof could be given, as to his real view of the case, than his resort to an evasion so unheard of, and so unbecoming the high character of a minister of the Crown: a Crown that is sworn to deny justice to no man; an oath, not more specially applying, to the acts which it performs through its judges, than to those which it performs, through its Secretaries of State?

In compliance with a previous request, made me by the friend of Mr. Disraeli, so often alluded to in these pages, I intimated to him what was Lord Stanley's reply; for he had begged that I would communicate it to him, as soon as received. In the letter containing that request, he had told me, that I must not judge too harshly of the Government;—that as a Government man, I ought to know the difficult and delicate position in which a Government is placed, under such circumstances; and that though there had been a certain want of frankness, it had arisen from an intention, at a more favourable opportunity, *of having the whole thing* cleared up. But, *with the existing hostile element in the Council,*

it was not thought advisable to stir in the matter. Finally, that I was not to come to any hasty conclusion, as to my future conduct and bearing towards the Government.

Now, supposing this gentleman to have been well informed, as to what was passing behind the Derbyite scenes; and to have spoken with that knowledge and authority, with which it is impossible for me to doubt that he did speak; could there, I ask, be a clearer confirmation of the view, I had from first to last, taken of the affair? Here, in fact, it was plainly stated, that I had, as I had supposed, been made a sacrifice to the hostility of the Government's new Leadenhall Street allies; and that it was in deference to them, that my cause had been thus abandoned, by men, who had been so ready, when they themselves were in opposition or in difficulty, to apply to me for aid.—An aid granted so ungrudgingly, and so regardlessly of all consequences to myself, that Mr. Disraeli had then styled me *a lion;* and in giving them which, I had brought on myself so much of that hostility, to which they now left me, a prey. Talk of the manliness of the English character! Why, the most chicken-hearted Hindoo, would have been above exhibiting, such dastardly craven meanness, as by Mr. Disraeli's friend's account, the Government, in their truckling to the old Directors in the Council, displayed. A statesman, with the spirit of a louse in his composition, would have scorned to submit to such unheard of degradation, as that involved. He would have told the Council to their faces, that the acts of mine which had raised their ire, had been done at his own solicitation, and on his own behalf. Setting all consideration of public duty aside, which prohibits personal hostility from standing in the way of justice to any man; he would have taught them, that they had not a parcel of cringing Asiatics to deal with, prepared, at their nod, to do their bidding, however foul the work that they required. He would have shown them, that he, and his colleagues, were a body of English gentlemen; above seeking pardon and forgiveness from them for the past, by the betrayal of him who had fought their battles for years, when any consideration of personal interest, was wholly out of the question; and when few, who had brains enough to be capable of service to them, could be found to take their part on any terms. The Derbyites, when I was with them, had styled the Company the carcase of a monopoly; that stank in the nostrils of all, both Europeans and natives, throughout the length and breadth of Hindoostan. Yet here were they now, on their knees before this carcase; offering up to it, as a victim, the man whose services they had then declared to be so pre-eminent, and a source of such obligation to them; and whose labours they had so cordially approved of, and so much admired. Me, they have done their best to destroy; but I would not change my humble, yet proud, position, for all their titled and salaried dishonour.

" Non possidentem multa vocaveris
Recte beatum; rectius occupat
Nomen beati, qui deorum
Muneribus sapienter uti,
Duramque callet pauperiem pati,
Peiusque leto flagitium timet;
Non ille pro caris amicis
Aut patriâ timidus perire."

In communicating the result of my communications, with Lord Stanley, to Mr. Disraeli's friend, agreeably to his request; I mentioned, that this did not look much like that disposition, to bring matters to a satisfactory conclusion, which he had claimed for his friends. But, in reply, he said, that, *taking into consideration his position, as the head of a Council, the majority of which was, personally, hostile to me;* he thought great allowance must be made, for the difficult position in which he found himself. He *did not naturally wish to quarrel with his Council, who might return the compliment by thwarting him in every possible way* —and he wished,—this my informant knew—to do me justice. And, however unsatisfactory

the letter of Lord Stanley, might appear, at first sight, yet he thought the use in it, of the words, "explaining and vindicating your conduct," were decisive. He considered me to have explained, and vindicated, my conduct; and he *tells me so, in a manner, which the Council cannot object to, while he completely disarms them, by the last sentence;* to which, taken in conjunction with the rest of the letter, too much importance should not be attached. He added, therefore, a hope, that I would not listen to any advice, my friends might give me, but send in my formal application for the Companionship of the Bath, which I claimed. He knew, he said, that I would cry out, and say, that I would see the Government d——d first; but this was not a government question, so far. It had been a departmental question. By sending in an application for an honour, to which I had a clear and decided claim, I should do the right thing; and he would not advise me to do it, unless he had good reasons for knowing, that it was the right thing to do. He prayed me, therefore, to be guided by him; and let my more fiery friends restrain their indignation, and their ardour.

Here, again, is evidence upon evidence accumulated, on authority so close to Mr. Disraeli himself, that the injustice I was subjected to, had arisen entirely from the personal hostility, to me, of a majority in the Council; in whom, it must be deemed infamous, if true, to make such a use, of their powers; and not in any real, or even fancied, misconduct of my own. Indeed, it would have been impossible for this to be pretended with success; after the Directors' own recommendation, of me, to the Crown, for brevet rank, in the year 1855. For nothing had, since then, taken place to affect my position, in any way; but the discovery, by these gentlemen, that, to my pen they had been indebted for those unceasing exposures of their misgovernment; which had contributed, so materially, to the awakening public opinion, to the necessity of a thorough India reform.

Now, supposing the statement, of Mr. Disraeli's friend, to be well founded,—and it is difficult to conceive that it could have been otherwise, coming from such a source as it did,—could there be anything more disgraceful, than the principles, upon which it was thus proclaimed, that the new Government of India, was to be conducted, in the name of the Queen? Justice, and injustice, were, it would seem, from this, to be mere matters of personal favouritism, or hostility; as they had been under the old government of the Directors, which had made the name of this country infamous, throughout the whole civilized world. And the vast life-powers entrusted to them, for the government of a mighty empire, were to be perverted into the means of making the position of the India minister intolerable; unless he consented to be the instrument, of their antipathies. Whether it was so, must depend entirely on the reliability of the assertions, made me, by Mr. Disraeli's friend. But, coming from such a source, taken in connection with their past proceedings towards me, and coinciding so completely, as they do, with the well-known characteristics of Leadenhall Street; I can only say, that the ministers of the Queen, will do their royal mistress a grievous injury, if they allow her name to be mixed up, one moment longer, with such an unscrupulous set, as the new Indian Government are thus described to be, by Mr. Disraeli's friend; without instituting the strictest enquiries into the origin and foundation of his assertions to me, and purging the Council, at once, of all such disgraceful elements in it, if those assertions shall prove true. Mr. Gladstone, after all he has written of Naples, will, I suppose, go heart and soul with me, to that extent.

The suggestion, above made by the friend of Mr. Disraeli, that I should send in my application, for an honour, I did not think fit to accede to; as it appeared to me, that, if they thought proper to recommend me for one, they could do so, without any application on my part. Nor did I see that, after what had passed, I should be consulting my own honour, by having anything further to do with them, regarding the affair. However, Mr. Disraeli's friend seemed still very anxious about the matter; and came up to town, where he was constantly recurring to the business: the staple of his argument being, that, if I would only give up Mr. Disraeli's letters to me, everything should be settled to my satisfaction;

the staple of mine, that, if the Government believed the reparation, I sought, to be really due to me, they were doing an act of infamy in withholding it; and that, if they did not believe so, they would be guilty of a still greater act of infamy, if possible, in according it as the price of Mr. Disraeli's letters.

So the matter went on, till, at last, I offered to leave the case to arbitration. The question before Lord Stanley, and which he had refused to pass an opinion on, was a question in the judicial department. He either could not, or would not, come to a decision on it; while the alleged personal hostility of the Council to me, was the best possible reason for excluding them from all participation in the judgment; even if such of them, as had been in the direction, were not disqualified, by the fact, that their own conduct, was virtually as much at stake on the issue, as mine was. Let then, I said, some eminent barrister be selected—Lord Stanley himself might have the selection of him; let the whole of the papers in the case be put into his hands; and let him be asked to give his opinion on them, on honour, without favour or affection towards either side. If he declared that the proceedings of the Bombay Government, founded on Mr. Frere's report, and the Directors' confirmation of them, were untenable, as I was sure he would do; then let Lord Stanley follow up the decision, by making me that act of reparation, which would then be my acknowledged due. A reparation which, as long as it removed from me, for ever, the slur which the Government's past proceedings were calculated to affix to me, might, for all I cared, assume any form he chose. If, on the other hand, the decision should be against me; I would pledge my honour to abide by it implicitly; and never, either directly or indirectly, resuscitate the affair. Was it possible for me to have made a fairer proposition; or one that proved, more indisputably, my conviction of the justice of my cause; and my desire to limit my demands upon the Government, to what any Government, actuated by those principles of *honour and dispassionate equity*, which, Mr. Gladstone says, we are so accustomed to percive here, would necessarily be but too happy to accord?

The proposition was not replied to on the spot, as, indeed, I had not expected it to be; but when next this mutual friend of Mr. Disraeli and myself saw me, he said it could not be acceded to; as, if the decision was against the Government, it would place it in a very awkward predicament. Though why, if they were honestly intent on doing justice, it would be difficult to conceive. At the same time, he renewed his solicitations to me in regard to Mr. Disraeli's letters; assuring me, as he had done a dozen times previously, that whatever opinion I might have formed of that gentleman, I should find him actuated by the most honourable and friendly spirit towards me; and that I might safely place myself, unreservedly, in his hands. He so far moved me, that I felt half disposed to yield compliance with his suggestions; and on the following day, or the day after, we were to meet to talk over the matter again. But in the interim, reflecting over the affair, it seemed to me, that the best way, under the circumstances, would be to address a note to Mr. Disraeli himself. If he was really actuated by that honourable spirit, which his friend attributed to him, he would, of course, frankly respond to that appeal; as any man of honour would do, who had been under such repeated obligations to another, as he, in letters to me, had acknowledged himself and his party to have been to me. If, on the other hand, it was merely an attempt to crown his previous conduct to me, by the recovery of the proofs of this, under what his friend and ally, Mr. Philip Rose, would call an *illusive* arrangement, to be chuckled over, like the *illusive* arrangement with Mr. Childers, as soon as the object was attained:—then, of course, my application would fail; but it would, at any rate, have the effect of drawing him out in his true colours; and so saving me any more discussion, with his friend, regarding the affair. My own convictions, based on his past behaviour towards me, inclined me to think the latter to be the object; but, at the same time, the representations of his friend were so strong, that I thought I should not be justified in disregarding them; and, I, therefore, sat down, and wrote to Mr. Disraeli as follows:—

I said that I did not know whether, after what had passed, I was right in addressing him;

but would venture to do so, on the chance that the matter between us might still admit of accommodation. Accommodation so far, as any personal differences, between myself and the Government were concerned; for neither of us could desire any accommodation, that went beyond that.

That, when I last wrote to him, I had told him I was quite content to accept the position, in which the conduct of the party had placed me; but should, of course, continue my efforts to further the policy I had always supported, and thus, henceforth, be in opposition, to the party which he led in the House of Commons. On mentioning this, however, to the friend whom I had, in the outset, consulted, and who was a man of the highest eminence and honour; he thought that the behaviour of the Government had been so dishonourable, that it was my duty to lay the whole case before the public, and take its verdict upon it. The speech delivered by Lord Stanley, at Fishmongers' Hall, decided me to do so; for it showed me, conclusively, what the new spirit of the Government was; and this I mentioned in confidence, to Lord Ellenborough, in applying to him for permission to publish a letter of his, to which I wished to refer.

No sooner had I done so, than hints were given me of some dreadful misconduct on my part, that would fully justify the course towards me that the Government had pursued. I wrote, therefore, at once, to Lord Stanley, demanding that every charge that could be brought against me, should be communicated to me; and the result was, the production of that one, regarding which, Lord Ellenborough had already declared my reply to be *very satisfactory;* and another *emanating from the same individual*, and of which I sent to Lord Stanley papers, that afforded ample disproof. Papers, which I had sent copies of to Lord Ellenborough, four years before my proposed appointment to the Council at all! Lord Stanley, however, declined giving any opinion on the matter; because, no doubt, he had too much sense, to commit himself to an affirmation, of anything so untenable and base. According to his own showing, therefore, the only justification for these calumnies, was a charge which Lord Stanley would neither affirm, nor acquit me of, though he must know it to be untrue; and regarding which, all the papers, had been spontaneously communicated by me to Lord Ellenborough, more than four years before.

I would simply ask, whether this was honourable treatment, or treatment that public opinion was likely to sanction; putting all question of gratitude for services, that the party were once glad enough of, if I was to believe his and Mr. Rose's letters, aside? If the Government thought so, why then, in Heaven's name, let them adhere to it; but then, in that case, they must not set me down as dishonourable, when, in conformity with the advice, of one of the most honourable men in the kingdom, I used every weapon to repel such aggression, that Providence had placed within my reach. If, however, on reflection, he felt such proceedings to be indefensible towards any one, much less towards one, of whose services he had made such use; then why not, at this, the eleventh hour, adopt a straightforward and manly part? There was an end of our political connection; I wanted, as I had over and over again said before, no favour at the Government's hands; but, surely they might act more reasonably, as well as more honourably, than to drive me to seek from others, what they ought to be too glad, under the circumstances, to accord me themselves,—the rehabilitation of my good name.

I did not know, in what spirit he might accept this letter; but I should not regret having taken this method of proving to him, that it was not till every effort was exhausted by me, that I finally had recourse, (if I was to have recourse to it), to the step I had been advised to take.

In a postscript, I added, that, in order to save misconception, and unpleasant correspondence, I should take it as a final adherence, on the part of the Government, to the course already adopted by it, if I did not hear from him before the ensuing Saturday night.

Such was the letter I sent to Mr. Disraeli, on Monday, the 10th of January, 1858.

The result was, to confirm the view of the matter, which I had taken all along.

From Mr. Disraeli himself, I heard, for some days, nothing; but on the Wednesday, the gentleman, who had taken so active a part in the negociations, sent me a note; in which he begged, that *if on reflection, I decided on returning the letters we had so often spoken about, I would send them through him, instead of to Mr. Disraeli direct. That what he wished was, to make my peace with him; and that then he thought the affair would be easily settled; but that, unless some powerful friendly influence was put in force in my favour, I should not get much justice from my friends in the Council. That it was not Lord Stanley who was indisposed towards me, but those gentlemen.* Finally he begged me to let him hear from me; *telling me where he would be each day, up to the Saturday ensuing.*

I confess I was, on receipt of this letter, struck almost dumb with indignation. For here it was in plain terms avowed, if language has any meaning in it, by the friend of Mr. Disraeli, who had commenced these negociations on his behalf; that the imputations which the Government, by refusing to exonerate me from them, had done all within their power to give weight to, were known by them to be false; and that they were being used by them, simply as an engine, to bend me to submission to their wishes. That if I complied with those wishes, by surrendering the letters of Mr. Disraeli, which had no earthly connection, with the question of my official conduct, as a judge and magistrate, in Scinde, the matter would be easily settled;—but that, if I failed to make my peace with him by that process, I should not get justice; as the Secretary of State for India would, in that case, leave me a continued prey to that personal hostility towards me, of the majority of the Council; to which it was here again proclaimed, that I had been really sacrificed. Was there ever such a prostitution, by this gentleman's account, of the powers entrusted to his friends by their Royal Mistress?

Of the letter I wrote to him in reply, I have no copy; but I know that it was a faithful reflex of the indignation, with which my breast was filled. However, I told the negociator, that his chief, might after all find proof in his own person, that it was not uncommon, for over-cunning men to overreach themselves. His letter, I said, proved, what I had all along been convinced of; that the Government's conduct towards me, in regard to these charges, had been based entirely on personal motives, which were disgraceful to it; and not on any considerations of public duty;—but that I had no doubt, that I should elsewhere obtain that justice, which they denied me; except on terms, to which nothing on earth, should ever induce me to assent.

Such was the general scope of the reply, I sent to this gentleman, on Thursday morning; and on the Saturday evening ensuing, I received a note from Mr. Disraeli's private secretary, Mr. Earle, dated Friday. In this he said he was directed, by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to acknowledge the receipt of my letter, of the 10th inst. That, as Mr. Disraeli had been informed by Lord Ellenborough, that it was my intention to publish private letters, which had been addressed to me in the confidence of private life, he must decline to hold any further correspondence with me; or to mix himself with affairs, with which he had been connected, not in the character of a Minister of State, but of a private individual, who wished to further my interests.

No other answer could, of course, have been expected by me, after the proposition of the previous Wednesday, to which I had in such terms replied; and I, therefore, simply wrote to Mr. Earle, acknowledging the receipt of his note; and regretting that mine to Mr. Disraeli, had been written under a misconception, which I was not responsible for; and of which, unfortunately, I only became aware on the Thursday morning, after the note was sent. In due time a note came from the negociator, in reply to the indignant letter I had written to him, telling me I was wholly and entirely wrong in my estimate of Mr. Disraeli; and that, as to his trying by a clever trick to get back his letters, he could assure me, that he was utterly ignorant of any such proposition ever being made; and felt quite certain, that he would be excessively angry, if he knew it had been made. He had merely himself suggested it, as an *amende*, and an *amende honorable*, for my letter to Lord Ellenborough;

and he still thought it the right thing to do. *After doing so*, I was again to write to Lord Stanley; and this course, he for certain good reasons, recommended me still to pursue.

Now, as to this; I had not, I think, said that it was a clever trick of Mr. Disraeli's, to get back his letters; but that over-cunning people often ended in overreaching themselves, and that I dare say, Mr. Disraeli himself might find it so. The cunning I alluded to, in my own mind, if I remember rightly, was the cunning which, perpetually walking in crooked ways itself, fancies that every one else must be guided, even in the most straightforward actions, by similar deep devices and designs. The cunning, in fact, that could not do me, what was admitted to be a mere act of justice; till it had first struck a bargain for it, and secured the price. But in either case, the result seems, to me, to be much the same, as far as Mr. Disraeli, and the late Government are concerned. For if, after the surrender of the letters, I was to be tricked out of the price that had been tendered for them, in the shape of that act of justice, which I was told I should not have otherwise; could anything be more inconceivably base and dirty, than such conduct as that? While if, on the other hand, the price was to be fairly paid me, in the concession, to me, of the reparation which I sought for; then what is to be thought of a Government, that could make its judicial decisions a matter of traffic; and justice, or injustice, dependent on a man's refusal or readiness, to comply with a colleague's terms?

As to the disclaimer, of having acted with Mr. Disraeli's knowledge, the moment he found, he had committed his principal, to such an extremely dangerous extent; that of course, I set down, as rubbish. He was not likely to have entered on such a negociation at all, unless authorized to do so; for who would otherwise, mix himself up in a case regarding a minister's private letters? Nor could he have known anything, of the various matters discussed with me, (my letter to Lord Ellenborough included); unless from Mr. Disraeli, or his private secretary, or from some one, connected equally closely with that gentleman. Then too, it was clear, that he was constantly being prompted by, and referring for instructions to some one; and he had constant access to Mr. Disraeli's private secretary, to a noble lord much in Mr. Disraeli's confidence, to the gentleman of "*illusive*" arrangements, Mr. Philip Rose, and finally, whenever he chose, to Mr. Disraeli himself. Besides, what could have been more absurd, than to make me a proposition, entirely in Mr. Disraeli's interest, relating to his letters to me, and which, if I had accepted it, Mr. Disraeli's influence in the Government was to carry out; unless it had been arranged in some shape or other, beforehand, with him, that, on my compliance with the terms, he would be ready to fulfil, on his part, what was conditioned for him, to do in the affair? Then, too, if there was no concert, it was singular that precisely the same string, should be harped on in Mr. Disraeli's private secretary's letter to me; which had been harped on, in every interview of his friend with me, from first to last. And it was especially odd, that Mr. Disraeli should have delayed writing an answer to me, that might, very easily, have been sent to me the next morning; till the proposition had been intermediately made to me, by his friend and negotiator, and rejected by me in such terms of indignation, as I have described. However, be this, as it may; when the proposition was brought by me officially to the notice of Lord Stanley, the Secretary of State, for India; it was, I hold, his bounden duty, to make a thorough inquiry, into the whole circumstances of the case. And his not doing so, was, of course, calculated to confirm the view, that it had not been made, without his colleague's sanction and knowledge. Not of course under hand and seal; but in a manner, that will be perfectly intelligible to every member, who happens not to represent a borough of immaculate purity, in the House of Commons.

The negociations being thus ended, which had not originated with me, but which, on the contrary, had been begun by this gentleman on Mr. Disraeli's behalf; I thought it best to lay the whole matter before a friend, whom I consulted, as to the next step that I should take. His advice was, to print a statement of the case, and place it in the hands, of every member of the House of Commons. That seemed to him, the best way of dealing with the

matter; as a petition must necessarily be so brief, as to give but a very faint outline of it; while it would not be very easy, for an independent member to take up, and make anything of such a case; in the face of the hostile phalanx, of clever and unscrupulous partizans, which the Government, (for the Derbyites were then in power), would of course present. In fact, the more I turned the matter over in my mind, the more, the almost superhuman difficulties, in the way of a successful prosecution of it, struck me at every turn; till at last, my health completely gave way, and I became seriously ill. Life, then became, of course, the first object with me; so I was obliged to abandon labour, to banish the matter as much as possible from my thoughts, and to seek repose at the seaside. There, after a time, I began to regain my health again; and devoted such time, as I dared to allot to work, to drawing up the statement, which I had been recommended to prepare. Meantime, the Derbyites had been defeated in parliament; they had appealed to the country; and the country had affirmed its representatives' award. There could, of course, be no doubt, therefore, of their quitting office, as soon as a government to succeed them could be formed. Unwilling that they should do so, without my putting my renewed protest against their treatment of me on record, I wrote to Lord Stanley, the Secretary of State for India, officially as follows:—

That, I could not allow his lordship to quit office, as I supposed it might be assumed, he then would do, without placing on record my solemn protest, against the course which his lordship had pursued towards me, in regard to the matter, which formed the subject of my correspondence with him, at the close of last year.

That correspondence, as he knew, was not of my seeking. It was forced on me, by the stories set afloat by his colleague and leader in the House of Commons, and his entourage; the instant that I had declared my intention, of appealing to public opinion, against the conduct pursued towards me, by him and his party, unparalleled, I believed, in political life; producing his own letters to me, in support of my case.

With the nature of that conduct, too, I believed his lordship was fully acquainted, and it might be summed up as follows:—In the beginning of 1854, the party then professing the warmest India reform principles, and acting in unison with Mr. Bright, Mr. Cobden, and the other India reformers, on every occasion of an India question arising in the House of Commons; I was induced to aid it with my pen, and thereby added much to its influence among the independent liberals; while at the same time it began, in consequence, to assume a position of knowledge and authority, in regard to Indian questions, to which it had before, made no pretensions. Having, after more than two successive years of labour, left the connexion in 1856, on their principles on the Indian question, being for the time abandoned by them; I rejoined it in 1857, on assurances, by what I thought competent authority, of these being steadily adhered to thenceforth:—assurances which seemed doubly guaranteed to me, by what took place on the part of Sir John Pakington and his lordship, in reference to Mr. J. B. Smith, the member for Stockport's, paper, at the Society of Arts. Shortly after that, Mr. Disraeli sought an interview with me; and expressing to me the highest admiration for my labours, the greatest regret at the interruption of them in the preceding year, and a hope that this might not have been noticed by the public, so as to interfere in any way with the position, which the party had then decided to take up on the subject of Indian affairs—professing, further, an extreme deference to my judgment, and the most entire concurrence in my political opinions regarding India, and its misgovernment by the Company, ("*whose corrupt influences*," he said, in a letter to me about the period, "*nothing but national calamity could counteract*"),—he induced me to devote my whole time and talents to the party, for whom I worked harder than any of its paid labourers; furnishing him with materials for his speeches (particularly that of the 27th of July, 1857, which he always afterwards called "*our speech*," in speaking of it to me); and constantly seeing him, or corresponding with him, on the state of affairs in India, besides conducting the duties more properly appertaining to me, till the party attained office in February, 1858. In all which time, Mr. Disraeli was boundless in

his acknowledgments of his, and his party's, obligations to me for my services, which, he said, were "pre-eminent;" and which he was on all occasions, extolling to the very utmost.

That again, after the suspension of my nomination to the council, (a nomination which had been Lord Ellenborough's spontaneous act, taken without the slightest reference to, or knowledge of, my political services to the party), Mr. Disraeli, assuring me that I should not suffer from this, as if not in that way, in some other, the intentions of the Government should be made good towards me,—begged me once more to give them them the benefit of my pen, in endeavouring to stem the current of public opinion, that had set in so strongly against them, in regard to the first India bill. I complied with this request at once. I further negociated with the India reformers, and so prevented any opposition on their part to the course which Lord John Russell proposed; and amid extreme pain, with my health completely broken by my labours, continued to give the Government the most effective aid, till the Cardwell crisis was over, and the position of the Government, was for the time secure. Then I was compelled to leave town, and seek health and repose, at the sea-side. Shortly after this, a new change came over the counsels of the party, in relation to Indian affairs; the opposition of the India House interest suddenly ceased, and, by a fortuitous coincidence, of course, I found my communications to Mr. Disraeli, left unnoticed or unattended to; the assurances he had given me were all broken; the political principles that, at his request, and with his concurrence, I had been advocating, were all abandoned; the men "*whose corrupt influences,*" he had said, "*nothing but national calamity could counteract,*" were confirmed in their positions for life, under a new name; and I, on my part, was sacrificed by the Government (out of deference to them, as I was left by him to suppose); notwithstanding Lord Ellenborough's complete exoneration of me, in regard to the Directors' foundationless comments, on the Hydrabad districts, that had been brought up against me; and notwithstanding Mr. Disrael's repeated promises, that the Government would give effect to this exoneration of me, in some unmistakeable manner. Till at last, in sheer disgust and weariness, I told him that I was content to accept the party's ingratitude, and that he need trouble himself no further about my affairs. From being a personal sharer in that ingratitude, I was led at the time to acquit him; but his conduct to me afterwards, was such as wholly to negative that plea.

Now, as to the nature of that conduct, the facts were patent, and there could be no doubt about it whatever. For I would say, that, if his lordship or Lord Derby, considered it consistent, with the public or personal honour of the Government, for one of its colleagues, a great officer of the Crown, the Chancellor of the Exchequer,—a member of the Queen's Cabinet, and one, therefore, whose word should be especially sacred,—the leader of his party in the House of Commons, and whom, consequently, I had a right to look to as Lord Derby's *alter ego*, and to trust his assurances as implicitly as if they had been made me by the mouth of Lord Derby himself—having already had four years gratuitous service from me—to come again to me for aid in his moments of difficulty, and obtain that aid, under such assurances as I had stated, and send written acknowledgments of the party's indebtedness to me for it—and then, to violate afterwards, the faith, expressed and implied, that he had under such circumstances pledged, as soon as the difficulty was tided over, and his objects were attained;—I said that, if this were in accordance with his lordship's, or Lord Derby's, notions, of ministerial or personal honour, their notions of it must differ very widely from mine. For my part, were I a minister of the Crown, I could conceive nothing more intolerably degrading, than the fact of a man's being able to say with truth, that I had obtained from him the labour of years, (labour which, in mere money value, might be estimated at no trifling sum), to build up a reputation, to make political capital in opposition, or to escape an impending adverse vote; and all on assurances, every one of which had been violated, as soon as all the benefit had been reaped, that had been anticipated from the transaction, and the day was won. I would rather, for my part, cut off my right hand, than be a party to such an act. Pythagoras lays down, that one should not too long delay the return of a benefit, lest the obligor, should perchance die

under the impression, that he had benefited an ingrate; but the Pythagorean philosophy, apparently formed no part, of a modern Conservative statesman's stock.

Such being the previous conduct of Mr. Disraeli towards me, I might at least have hoped, that his lordship would not have lent his aid, to the additional injury put on me, by the circulation of stories to my prejudice, as soon as I determined, being left to my fate by the Government, to stand forth in my own defence; and the refusal to me afterwards, of every means of bringing the case to a decision, and so terminating for ever their injurious effects. If the Government, thought their honour best consulted, by receiving such long-continued and repeated favours from me, and then repudiating all acknowledgment of them, in the face of their professions, when their purposes had been served; they might at least, have refrained, in addition, from endeavouring to deprive me of my good name. I should have thought, therefore, that his lordship would have felt bound, by his honour as a gentleman, as well as by his duty as a Privy Councillor, to do all in his power, to help me to obtain a just and equitable solution of the case, thus suddenly started up against me; and that, of course, was all I did or ever could require, notwithstanding all the monstrous tales set afloat upon the subject. It was not a question of patronage or favour; but a question of right, and right alone.

There could have been no difficulty in its settlement; because if his lordship was unable, unaided, to arrive at a correct decision, on what after all was a purely judicial question, he had the law officers of the Crown to assist him; who could have very soon disposed satisfactorily of the case. For, (and I defied his lordship to say the test was not a fair one), if the law officers of the Crown, the proper persons to deal with such matters, had said, or if they would now say, after a perusal of all the documents, in the face of the minutes of Mr. Blane and Mr. Bell, and in the face of Mr. Lumsden, the judicial secretary's admission, that the decision of the Government, drawn up originally by his own deputy, was in itself erroneous, as well as founded on a report since found by him to be incorrect as to facts, and that the decision, therefore, ought to be reversed;—if, in the face of all this, the law officers of the Crown would give it as their professional opinion, that the decision of the Bombay Government, was, I would not say, a lawful one, (for it had the power by its constitution to commit any judicial iniquity it pleased); but a righteous and a proper decision, one agreeable to judicial principles, and such as ought to be maintained; then I should be content at once to give up the question, and believe that I, and those whom I had consulted, had been dreamers, knowing nothing of right and wrong in such affairs. But, if on the other hand, the law officers of the Crown declared, (as if instructed to deal with the case as between man and man, I believed they would declare), that the Bombay Government's decision was a wrong decision, and, therefore, such as ought not to be maintained; then I did submit that it would be his lordship's duty to me, to his Sovereign, and to his God, to stand forth honestly and do me that justice he was sworn to administer, be the consequences what they might. To reverse a wrong decision, against one whose services to his country, had been admittedly so eminent, (setting aside all the obligations to me of the party to which he belonged); and to do all in his power to repair an injury, which so far from being justified by the time that had elapsed in the interval, had but become the more oppressive, from the accumulated endurance of so many successive years. Had the principle his lordship professed to act on, in this instance, been followed by all the former advisers of the Crown of England; there would not now be a House of Derby, to inflict on me the wrong, of which I complained.

Such was the mode, in which his lordship might have dealt with the case. It was a mode which no one could object to, that had the interests of honesty, fair play, and justice, in view; and it was one, in which I humbly conceived his lordship was bound in honour to treat it, if unable to arrive at a clear decision regarding it himself. But while this mode of dealing with the case, would have led to a termination of it, that would certainly have been entirely satisfactory to me, and which ought to have been equally acceptable to the Govern-

ment, if it simply desired to do impartial justice; the plan adopted by his lordship (whatever might have been the motives for it), had had a precisely opposite effect. The effect had been, to aggravate greatly my sense of injury, by backing up by his official power, the unofficial proceedings of his colleague, Mr. Disraeli; whose following had not hesitated to twit me, with the powerlessness of an individual like myself, to obtain justice, unless I began by humbling myself to their master, and surrendering the proofs of his duplicity, which were in my hands. On those terms, it was long since intimated to me (with what truth I knew not, though the proposition bore every impress of truth about it), that through his "powerful influence," I might obtain justice from his lordship; the case being one, it was said, that might be easily settled, if I only, by that process, would allow my peace to be made with him.

Against such proceedings, against the course pursued towards me in this case by his lordship, which had alone rendered such proceedings possible, I begged to record my solemn protest. It was all I could do at present, but I would not omit it. I knew that the taunts of Mr. Disraeli's following were true; I felt that against his vast influence, I was really powerless. But even the most powerless, did sometimes prevail against official oppression, when their cause was a righteous one, as I knew mine to be. The very extent of their helplessness, obtains for them a sympathy from the generous, that might not otherwise be accorded to them; and such sympathy, on such grounds, I should not despair of finding among the members of the House of Commons. For, after all, they were a body of the first gentlemen in Europe; and the acts of which I complained, were acts at which the instincts of every gentleman must revolt, no matter what might be his peculiar political opinions.

I could only say, in conclusion, that if I had done wrong to Lord Derby, and his lordship, in assuming them to have been cognizant of, and participators in the acts of Mr. Disraeli, of which I so justly complained, I should be very sorry. I had stated exactly what had occurred; but, of course, it was impossible for me, to know the degree of acquaintance with each other's acts, that is usual among party chiefs. All I did know was, that Mr. Disraeli himself assured me, that he would fully acquaint him with all I had done for him, and the party to which he belonged. If, however, Lord Derby and his lordship were not cognizant of his proceedings, they were still, to a certain extent, responsible for them; by having appointed him their leader in the House of Commons, in which capacity all his dealings with me took place. He was, therefore, bound in honour to remedy, as far as in him lay, the injury that I had suffered at his hands. This, he might do in a very simple straightforward easy manner, to which no lover of truth and justice could object. This was simply to remit the decision of the Bombay Government, and the papers connected with it, to the law officers of the Crown, as above proposed by me, for their opinion, as to whether that decision was a proper one; and to recommend that, if their opinion should be adverse to such decision, reparation should be made me, in some shape or other, for the great injury that I had suffered, through that most wrongful act.

This would dispose of the case entirely to my satisfaction; in a manner, that no lover of justice could possibly object to; and such as public opinion would approve. Thus, in the event of my really having been in error, as to the spirit of the Government towards me, it could easily show this; by taking up the settlement of this painful question, in the manner which I had pointed out. And, in that case, I should be sorry to complicate the matter, by any additional source of bitterness; and should, therefore, be glad to withdraw this letter, which would then appear to have been written, under an erroneous impression, as to the purport of his lordship's, and the Government's, acts. While, as to the conduct towards me, of Mr. Disraeli, that had long ceased to trouble me; beyond the extent to which it operated, or appeared, from the language held to me, to operate, to impede the final settlement of this purely judicial question.

Such was the official letter sent, by me, to Lord Stanley, the Secretary of State for India, on the 13th of June last. On the one hand, it proposed, to him, a mode of

settling the question, which, it seemed to me, impossible for him to object to; if his desire was simply, what, by his official oath, it ought to have been, to further the ends of truth and justice. How far his refusal to accede, to so reasonable a proposition, must be taken as confirming the private information already received by me, and recorded, in its place, in this narrative; I must leave to others to determine. But this I will say, that I am totally at a loss, myself, to conceive why he should have so pertinaciously persisted, in his refusal to give a decision on the case himself, which I could have, at once, appealed from, if an unjust one; if he was of opinion, that a decision given against me, would have securely stood the issue of such a test. Or why, in the same event, he should have declined so peremptorily, the alternative, proposed by me, of leaving the decision to the Crown's law officers: men of too high a professional position, to be likely to give a wilfully unjust decision, out of deference to any one; and, by whose award, therefore—though they were Lord Derby's nominees—I had offered implicitly to abide. No doubt, a decision in my favour, after all that had occurred, would have been a very serious blow to the Derby party; and a fatal one, perhaps, to their new Leadenhall-Street allies. And, on the supposition, that Lord Stanley knew that it must be so, if left to the Crown's law officers, his persistent refusal, to accede to my request, is, of course, intelligible. But, on no other principle, can I understand it. For, surely, a disputed judicial decision, *given by laymen*, affecting the interests of one, who had filled so high a position with such uniform credit, as I had done; and who had been, but lately, selected for so great an office in this country; was not an unfitting matter, to submit for the Crown's law officers' opinion:—there being no legal tribunal for the settlement of it, for me to appeal to. More especially as at Bombay, the opinion of the Judicial Secretary, who had himself filled the highest seat on the bench there, as well as of one of the two members of the Council, had been entirely in my favour; while the other member of the Council, though supporting the Governor, had admitted, in his minute, the very questionable, nature of the whole proceeding! And still more particularly, after the part the Secretary of State had himself taken in the matter, as well as his colleague. While the avowed personal hostility, to me, of the majority of the Council, ought to have precluded them from having any share in the decision; unless, what Mr. Gladstone declares to be infamous, at Naples, is to be considered perfectly right, and proper, when practised by the servants of the Crown in England.

On the other hand, this letter contained matter regarding Mr. Disraeli, and the offers made me, as conditions of obtaining justice from his lordship, which imperatively called for enquiry; and which, I can conceive, no possible object, in Lord Stanley's not insisting on an instant enquiry into, unless he knew or suspected the allegations to be true. It contained matter, which might, to be sure, admit of explanation; but which no man of honour could have submitted to, for an instant, in its unexplained state, be his position, in society, what it might. Matter, which it seemed to me, to be little short of treason, to Her Majesty, to leave unenquired into; when he whose conduct appeared so dubious, was the immediate minister of the Queen. She, as Sovereign, is the fountain of *honour*, her privy councillors bear the title of *Right Honourable;* and any violation of the most perfect truth, and honour, and rectitude, on their part, must, of course, tend to reflect the deepest discredit upon their royal mistress, the centre of the system, around which they revolve. Yet, here was matter alleged, of so serious a nature; that any officer of the army, who had allowed such to be written about him, without calling, at once, for an enquiry, would have been dismissed from the service, by court martial, under the articles of war. Of that, as a soldier of thirty years standing, I can have no doubt, whatever; and there is not a military member, of the House of Commons, let him sit on what side the House he may, who will not confirm the truth of what I thus declare.

But more than this, it contained assertions regarding terms offered me, on which I might procure a favourable decision from Lord Stanley himself; which imperatively called for the strictest investigation, on the part of the Secretary of State, whose decisions were alleged

to have been made the subject of a proposition, so shameful as that. A proposition not dissimilar in principal to that, to which Mr. Gladstone imputes such infamy, when made by a minister of the Neapolitan Crown. The case might, I repeat, be susceptible of explanation; I admitted as much. But justice, like Cæsar's wife, ought to be above suspicion; and, at any rate, as it stood, it was one that required imperatively, to be cleared up. To leave such a statement on official record, not only without any attempt to bring it to the test of an enquiry, but absolutely evading every effort, on my part, to that end; could only be looked on, as an admission, that the case was one that would not bear that investigation, which every minister of conscious honour, ought to have been only too eager in insisting on; instead of resorting, to every means of official obstruction in his power, to escape. As to his lordship's assertion, that he knew nothing of my claims on Mr. Disraeli, which will be found in his letter below; I think I might safely leave the truth of that, to be decided by common probability, irrespectively altogether of the facts, having a special bearing on the point, which I have had to describe. One thing, however, is clear, which is, that either he, or Mr. Disraeli, must have been guilty of the grossest mis-statement in regard to the matter; his lordship's present letter being wholly irreconcilable, with the note received by me from Mr. Disraeli, in the September previously. In point of honour and morality, however, it seems to me immaterial, whether Lord Stanley had, or had not, been a party, personally, to the acts of his self-appointed leader in the House of Commons. When those acts were described to him, it was, I conceive, his duty to inquire into them; and by not doing so, while retaining Mr. Disraeli in his leadership, he made himself responsible for, and a participator in, them, by every rule, whether of equity, or honour.

Lord Stanley's answer was, that he had received my letter of the day previous, and, in reply, must decline taking further steps in the matter to which it referred. If I thought myself aggrieved, I should shortly have an opportunity of appealing to his successor. His opinion of my case was formed some months ago, and he saw no reason to alter it. Of my alleged personal claims on Mr. Disraeli, he knew nothing.

To this I answered, that I had the honour to acknowledge the receipt of his note; and, could only regret, that his lordship should have declined assent to my proposition, to terminate the discussion; by remitting the strictly judicial question it referred to, to the decision of the law officers of the Crown, by whose opinion on the case, I had offered to abide.

As regarded his observation, concerning my "*personal* claims on Mr. Disraeli," his lordship must have much misunderstood me, if he supposed me to have advanced any. The services which I had rendered to Mr. Disraeli, had no more to do with his *personal* interests, than they had with those of any other of the heads of the party. They were aids to the party's displays in the House of Commons, and elsewhere; or contributions to its recognized organs of public opinion. Organs started by subscription among the party, for the party's common benefit;—the financial arrangements of which, were in the hands of the party's recognized agent; the political direction, of which was in the hands of the party's leader in the House of Commons; and, to which his lordship was, when I joined the connexion, an occasional contributor, as well as taking some part in the political management.

However, this was not of much matter, as I had claimed nothing from his lordship, or Mr. Disraeli, but what, irrespectively, of any such obligations towards me, I was entitled in common justice to expect. This was, in the first place, some public recognition of my entire exoneration, by Lord Ellenborough, of the first imputation raised against me, by the Directors; in regard to which he had pronounced my explanation to be "*very satisfactory.*" And, in the second place, the bringing to the test of the Crown's Law Officers' opinion, the Directors' second, and only remaining, imputation; which was never heard of, till the former had been disposed of in my favour. An imputation which

arose out of a judicial decision, passed by the Bombay Government of the period; which the judicial Secretary to that Government afterwards admitted, to have been made in error; and which, therefore, with the Member in the Council, who had opposed it from the outset, he did his utmost to have reversed;—and, regarding which, his lordship had, on two separate occasions, distinctly declined to pass any opinion either way.—I might add, that the Bombay Government that passed this decision, was the same that had just before dismissed Sir James Outram from the Residency at Baroda, on grounds very similar to those, on which it had found such fault with me. His exposure of gross abuses there, having led it to take the same view of *his* "judgment and temper," as it professed to take of *my* "judgment and temper," for my exposure of equally great abuses in Scinde.

I had only to add, that I should not again trespass, in any shape, upon the time of his lordship.

So concluded my correspondence with Lord Stanley, Her Majesty's then Secretary of State for India. Appeals to his sense of honour, appeals to his sense of justice, and appeals to his sense of duty, I had found equally fruitless; and there remained but one course open to me, which was to bring the affair, under the cognizance of the House of Commons. But to compress the whole of the facts, now given by me, within the limits of a petition, would have been impossible. I, therefore, under advice, confined myself strictly in that, to the point, in respect of which, relief was sought by me; namely, that the inquiry might be granted, to which it is the object of the present letter, to enforce my claims. Not being myself in the House; the mode I have adopted, is the only one open to me, of bringing the facts connected with the case, and which seem to me to render an inquiry imperative; within the cognizance of the several Members of the Government, and of the House of Commons. No doubt, the former may have some scruples of delicacy, about assenting to such a course, in regard to the conduct of political opponents; but such scruples would be wholly misplaced, in a case like this. For the honour of the Sovereign, the honour of Her Privy Council, and the honour of Parliament; as well as the best interests of the nation, which Parliament represents; are all involved, to a certain extent, in the issue of this affair.

Whatever the inconveniences, therefore, attending the pushing it to the utmost; they are far outweighed by those, that must attend any attempt to smother or evade it, now that I have thrown down the gauntlet, in the face of all. Nor can I suppose, that the members of the Derbyite connection, generally, will do otherwise than support my prayer. For, I cannot believe, that the great mass of them, will hold any other sentiments than I do, regarding the conduct that I have described. A black sheep, or two, they may have among them. But it is impossible for me to suppose, that, as a body, they can be more deficient in honour, than any other English gentlemen: or that they would have the slightest desire to gain a victory over me, by a recourse to the mere brute force, as I may call it, of overwhelming numbers; on which Mr. Disraeli's friend so firmly, but, as I trust it will prove, so erroneously relied. They will not, I am sure, take advantage of my not being a member of the Legislature, to abet their leaders in conduct towards me; which, it has been candidly confessed to me, that, in that case, they never would have dared to pursue. Brave men, to drive their knives into the back of one, from whom they think themselves safe, from getting a return blow! That, however, is not such conduct as, I believe, the country party in the nation, will endorse. To avail oneself of such an unfair advantage, may suit the temperament of him, who is, for ever, boasting of his Arab descent; though there is not much affinity between the Arabs of Arabia, and the slave-descended semi-African mongrels, from the shores of the Mediterranean, one sees so perfect a type of, at Grosvenor Gate. But, it will hardly be consonant, with those feelings of fair play, that are coeval with its birth, in nearly every English breast.

In any case, the odds I have to contend against, are so stupendous, that nothing but a

firm reliance on the farce of truth and rectitude, could have led me to engage in it; and, even as it is, I have, more than once, nearly fainted, by the way, under the almost overwhelming nature of the task. The country gentlemen of England, will not then, I am sure, so far forget their manhood, as to throw their weight into the scale against me. They will rather be the first to form the ring, in which I seek to meet their champion; and whichever way may tend their hopes, they will see, at least, that I get fair play. If I am beaten, I desire no better, than to go down to my grave dishonoured; which I shall then be careless, how soon it is my fate to fill. But, unless I am beaten *fairly;* my adversaries can derive no honour, from my defeat. On the contrary, it can only bring, on them, additional shame. Nor, indeed, can I believe, that the sympathies of the country gentlemen of England, who sit behind Mr. Disraeli, will be at all with him; after they have obtained, a glimpse, of how the matter really stands. I do not think, that the cleverness, which obtains years of aid, in opposition, and in difficulty; and then, not merely repudiates the obligation, but, does its best to ruin the obligor; is, at all, the kind of cleverness, that England's country gentlemen, will appreciate, or understand. It is a sort of cleverness, more congenial, I suspect, to the atmosphere of Houndsditch, and the Minories; than to that of the Vale of Belvoir, the hills of Somersetshire, and the wealds of Kent.

So far from sympathizing with such cleverness, I think, that they will be the first to repudiate it; as most dishonouring alike to the practiser of it, and to themselves. I think they will be of the opinion, that I expressed, in my official letter, to Lord Stanley; that there could be nothing more intolerably degrading to them, than the fact of a man's being able to say, with truth, that their leader had perpetrated, and that they had abetted him, in such an act. Nor do I believe, that they will have the least idea, of descending to try, and creep out of the matter; by such a loophole as that, through which Lord Stanley has tried to creep. I think, that they will see, that, to say, of my claims on Mr. Disraeli, they know nothing; would be on a par with the bank directors telling a man, that, of his claims on Mr. Gattie, they knew nothing; when called on, for change of one of the bits of paper, bearing, that official's name. Mr. Disraeli, when I first had anything to do with the party, was its leader, in the House of Commons; and he is so still. He has been their leader out of office; and their Chancellor of Exchequer, and leader, in. Lord Derby, when describing, at the late Liverpool dinner, the entire unanimity that had always prevailed among the party, said, that,—"*with his colleagues, he never had a subject of difference, or of controversy:*" while, Mr. Disraeli declared, on his part,—"*he had laboured, under Lord Derby, in terms of confidence and trust; which, probably, were never exceeded before, between two public men.*" He was thus, the recognized agent of his chief, and of the party; and it was in that capacity, that all my dealings, with him, took place. Those dealings, related exclusively to matters; which it was his proper province, as leader of the party, in the House of Commons, and Director of its organ of public opinion, to undertake. Thus, every condition, that could make principals, responsible for the conduct of an agent, existed there. To attempt, therefore, now, to repudiate that responsibility, under pretence of ignorance of the acts done under it,—acts, of which they reaped the benefit, and which were done in their behalf;—would be to adopt a principle, that the law would apply a very ugly name to, if introduced into the affairs of private life; and which would not be the less prejudicial, to their honour, as gentlemen, because resorted to, to evade an obligation, which the law cannot enforce.

No; it is not by repudiating the acts, of their duly appointed agent; that the Conservatives of England, can extricate themselves, with honour, from the affair. Their only path now, lies in an honest and fearless support, of the inquiry I am praying for; and in a determination to repair, like gentlemen, any wrong, that, at the hands of their leaders, it may be shown that I have endured. This is the only way now left *them, of effectually* vindicating their own honour; as well as the honour of the Crown;

and the best interests of the country, which they represent. And I cannot fear, therefore, that they will hesitate, to take this path of duty; merely because the result of it, may be to show, that parties are but human; and like other aggregates of men, are sometimes under leaders; whose conduct reflects no credit, on those, who yield them their support. This will be infinitely better than Lord Stanley's plan, of trying to cover one act of wrong by another; as Mr. Gladstone tells us, the Neapolitian Crown advisers do. "*Nemo repente fuit turpissimus,*" (says Mr. Gladstone, in his tale of Neapolitian horrors, so often quoted by me already); "and no such extremities of fear, cruelty, and baseness, as it has been my irksome duty to describe, could be reached by any Government, but one already unmanned by a bad conscience; and driven on by necessity, to cover old misdeeds, by heaping new ones on them."—It is to be hoped, for the honour of the English character, that the great body of Conservatives, will never allow themselves to be made instruments, of a policy of that sort; for all the Stanleys and Disraelis that ever were begotten.

As to the case itself, into which I have prayed for an enquiry; there cannot, I should think, exist a doubt on the mind of any man; that there never was a case more imperatively calling for it, on every consideration of public honour, as well as of public justice.

My statements are not anonymous; they are guaranteed by my own name and signature; and that, the name and signature of one, who has produced the highest testimonials to his public character; and who was, but the other day, selected by the first Indian minister of the Derbyites themselves, for a post of the greatest honour under the Crown. There is not a word which I have advanced, that I am not prepared to confirm on oath; and to bring other testimony in support of, both of an oral and documentary kind. The latter, as far as Mr. Disraeli is concerned, under his own hand. Nor has my appeal been caused by any disappointment, as regards that high and well paid post. For when I was led to suppose, that there was nothing in reason, that Mr. Disraeli, would not have been ready to do for me; the only thing I asked from the Government, was the trifling, and in itself, nearly worthless honour; that Sir William Napier, as the representative of his diseased brother, Sir Charles, thought me entitled, in 1856, to *demand,* for my services in Scinde. No one, indeed, can accuse me of haunting ministerial ante-chambers; or of asking for favours, of any kind, from men in power. My whole course of life, has been entirely the other way. Why, the case, that has been a source of such wrong to me, and which has been so fully described here, will furnish the very best illustration of what I say. For it is a case, in which I brought all on myself, by standing forward to do my duty honestly, according to the magisterial oath which I had sworn; by protecting the people of Scinde, against their wrong-doers;—though these were supported by all the power and influence of the Government; while those, had nothing to give me, but their gratitude and their prayers.

When, again, previous to Lord Ellenborough's late advent to office, did my pen ever cease to strive for his re-instatement, in that place in public opinion; which he seemed to have lost, to a great extent, ever since his return from India in 1844. Yet, he never even knew the name of the man, who was thus labouring for his fair fame. But others knew, what he was uninformed of by me; and I too knew, that while thus trying to pay a debt of gratitude, I was closing the door for ever to my ambition, as long as the Directors reigned. Then take the case of the late Sir Charles Napier, and see what my conduct was to him. I had received everything, that he had the power to bestow upon me, in 1843. I had nothing further to look to from him, after that; being then placed as highly by him, as I could be placed. When he was in the zenith of his power and popularity, I differed with him on a point of public policy, and sent in my resignation, though I had nothing then but my lieutenant's pay to fall back upon; and this resignation, I only withdrew at his own request. When, on the other hand, the clouds of adversity were gathering round him, and treason to his cause, was a certain path to official and directorial favour; none stood by him more faithfully, and defended his name and honour more firmly, than myself. I saw perfectly well, the danger I was incurring; but I counted it as nothing, in the balance against

honour, and gratitude, and duty;—and, however bitter, the persecution it has entailed on me, I would not, were the thing to do again, take any other course, than that I took.

Hear on this point, how his two surviving brothers, long since wrote to me. "As I must ever feel an interest, in the fortunes of all the brave and generous men, (wrote Mr. Richard Napier to me), who aided my brother in his arduous duties in India; so I must particularly do so, in the case of one, who so earnestly supported him when living, and defended him when dead, as you have done." And, hear again, his brother, Sir William Napier, whom I have already so often quoted. "A dislike (wrote he) to emotions, which a recollection of the past, could not let me suppress, prevented me from thanking you, as I wished to do this morning. You have shown yourself, a true and steadfast friend to the dead man. Many he benefited in life; but those, who have acknowledged those benefits by their actions, since his death, are not so numerous, as to make it difficult to reckon them. Your earnest feelings, have come with a great power of consolation to my feelings, and your ability and knowledge, have come with great force and power, in aid of my present task."—Such are the testimonies, borne to my honesty and fidelity, by my dead Chief's brothers; at a time when nothing but directorial hatred, was to be reaped by me as the result.—I have not asked their permission to publish them; because I do not wish to make them parties, to what is exclusively, my own personal act. But had I done so, I am sure, they would, on the instant, have accorded it; being far too generous, to fly from me, on the first blush of adversity, as the world so often does. For, whatever may be said of Napier tempers, (though I have never seen anything of them, except when some act of public or private dishonour, was in question); the Almighty has never created hearts, more warm, more true, more honest, more feeling, and more noble, than He has bestowed on them. Sir Charles' whole life and government, were one continued protest in behalf of the weak and down-trodden, against the strong; while never have the messages, which I have received from the sick bed of Sir William, been more kindly; than since I have been subjected to the baseness, for why should I hesitate to call it rightly, of Mr. Disraeli and his friends.

Such being my antecedents, I can laugh to scorn, imputations; which could only have arisen in the breasts of men, actuated by motives, as dirty and as despicable, as those they would assign to me. Why the times, at which my aid to Mr. Disraeli was given, afford a sufficient refutation of any charge of that kind; even if it were not refuted, by the fact of my never having asked for any thing, but the smallest of the honours in the gift of the Crown; which it had been thought, I had a right to *demand*, in 1856, for my services in Scinde. For the aid rendered by me to Mr. Disraeli, was rendered to him, when he was in opposition, and not likely, as it appeared to me, at least, ever to return to office; and, when after attaining office again, he was in immediate danger of ejection from it, by a hostile vote of the House of Commons. On the other hand, the kindest intimations of a desire for my acquaintance, made by a great personal friend of Lord Palmerston, the then Premier, and who was himself shortly afterwards a Cabinet Minister, were left unresponded to by me; though I could not but feel highly honoured, as well as deeply grateful to him for his good will. Indeed, I never did call on the Minister in question, till after the Cabinet he belonged to, had been overthrown. With such facts, in my power to prove, I can, I repeat, afford to laugh at such insinuations; and tell Mr. Disraeli, that he may find a better motive, for the course I am now pursuing; in my determination, not to make my character, a sacrifice, to disgraceful bargains with Leadenhall Street; as well as in my resolve, to put a stop, if possible, to a career of unprincipledness, unparalleled, I believe, among public men.

As to the allegations generally, contained in this, my statement; there is nothing in them, so irreconcilable with all preconceived notions, as to make any inquiry into them unnecessary. There is nothing for instance, so very incredible, and so contrary to all preconceived notions, in the assertion, that the judicial act which I impugn, as an outrage on all justice, should really have been so; for, if one thing, has been more clearly established than *another*, it is, that the Company's judicial system in India, was, from first to last, a bye-

word, and a shame. It has been over and over again denounced in Parliament, as a disgrace to the nation that tolerated it; and by none more strongly, than by Lord Stanley and Mr. Disraeli themselves, as a reference to the debates of 1853 will prove. Its worthlessness has been exposed in the minute of Mr. Halliday, the then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal; in the pamphlet of Dr. Duff, the able missionary of the Scotch Church, at Calcutta; and above all, in a petition to Parliament, from the whole of the European inhabitants there, presented, I think, in 1856. In this they plainly stated, that they should not consider their lives, or liberties, or fortunes, or characters safe one moment, if the same judicial system were applied to themselves. Surely, there is nothing very incredible then, in my asserting, that I have unjustly suffered under a system; under which, it has thus been so uniformly proclaimed, that no man's life, or fortune, or character, could be safe.

If, again, I have accused the Bombay Government and the Directors, of injustice and vindictiveness, towards the late Sir Charles Napier and his friends, as well as to all, from first to last, who have thought fit to impugn the wisdom and equity of their rule; is that a thing, too, that has never before, been heard of? Are not the late Sir Charles Napier's journals filled with the same tale? Has such a charge never been made against them, by the Earl of Ellenborough? Have not the independent Europeans in India, been loud and incessant, in their complaints of the persecution, all in the districts have been subjected to; who have dared to call in question, the gross misconduct of the Company, and its civilian officials there? Was not such vindictiveness, in regard to the late Sir Charles Napier, openly charged against them by Mr. Henry Bruce, Sir William Codrington, and Mr. Roebuck, on the 15th of August, 1857, in the House of Commons? And did they not allow judgment, to go by default, on that occasion?

Then, again, if I state, that a high civilian has violated the truth, in a report regarding me to the Government; is misconduct among that class, a thing unheard of either? Did not Sir Charles Trevelyan begin his Indian career, by bringing and proving charges against a very high civilian, the then Resident at Delhi? Did not Mr. William Frere, the brother of my opponent in this case, once bring charges, which he established, against the highest civilian at Surat? Was not the Accountant-General at Madras, one of the highest civilians there, dismissed only the other day, on charges; the chief of which, involved the making to Government a false report? And has not the same fate, just befallen the Governor's agent at Vizagapatam; another high civilian, who has been similarly dismissed for falsehood, as well as other offences? Have not such things happened as baronets, of almost saintly reputation, and even bishops, being convicted of the most infamous crimes in England? And is any one, who has read the pages of Cobbett, ignorant of the cruel punishment, inflicted on the first accuser of one of the last; whose subsequent conduct, could leave no doubt, of his having been really guilty? Thus even if I had specially charged the untruthfulness of Mr. Frere's report as *wilful* and *deliberate*, there would have been nothing, so very out of the way in it; but it is wholly immaterial to the case to do so, however clearly I myself may think, that the papers establish it. The only point material to me, is, that the report was untrue; and that with it, must fall to the ground, as the judicial Secretary in Bombay admitted, the censure conveyed in the minute upon it; which the latter's under-secretary had drawn up for him; and which he, after initialling it, had transmitted to the Governor to sign.

If, again, I have protested, against my opponent, Mr. Frere, being improperly supported; notwithstanding the illegality of his proceedings, and the untruthfulness of his report, being clear from the papers, as well as admitted by the judicial Secretary to the Bombay Government;—is that a charge contrary to all experience either? Is it not distinctly alleged, in the minute of one of the two members of the Council there, protesting against the course pursued by the Governor towards me, in the present instance? Did not Mr. Ralph Moore, in his evidence before the Indian Colonization Committee last year, say that the practice was habitual; and that instances were frequent, of civilians misconducting themselves, and, instead of being properly dealt with by the Government, retained in their

appointments? Did not Mr. Otway, who has, I believe, himself been in India, make a similar charge against the civilians, and the Government protection of them; in the debate on Mr. Blackett's motion, which took place in July, 1854, in the House of Commons? Has not the same point, been dwelt on by Lord Ellenborough, in the House of Lords? I think it has, if I am not mistaken. Is it not, indeed, a matter of notoriety, among all acquainted with India? Did not Sir Charles Trevelyan narrowly escape ruin, from his impeachment of the Resident at Delhi? Did not Mr. William Frere narrowly escape ruin, from his impeachmrnt of the Resident at Surat? Has not a similar fate, been experienced by every one, who has dared to try and bring a high civilian to justice; let the charge against him, be as notoriously truthful, as it was possible for it to be?

Then, too, if I assert Mr., now Sir Bartle, Frere's report regarding me, to have been untrue; is it nothing, to have shewn it to be utterly irreconcilable, with the spontaneous tributes paid to me on all hands, both before and since, by men so high and various; as well as with the statements, contained in a letter under Mr. Frere's own hand, to another gentleman, and also with his private conversations with myself? Is it nothing that, in the whole course of my service, there should have been but two reports sent in to the Government to my disadvantage; and that these should have both been sent in by the same man, under whom I served but a few weeks; and sent in under the circumstances, already stated by me? And that the imputations on me, contained in the only one of these reports, on which I have been able to procure an official decision, should have been pronounced by Lord Ellenborough to be foundationless; while, as to the other, the judicial Secretary in India, has equally declared it to be untrue? I having been all along, so studiously debarred, from my undoubted right to have it brought to the test of an enquiry; for the admitted reason, that the Government knew perfectly well, what the result of such enquiry must be? Would the testimony of any man, the worthlessness of whose assertions, had been so completely established in one case, be received against the same person, in another; without being subjected to the very strictest enquiry, in any court of law or honour, in the kingdom? Would not the *established* untrustworthiness of it, in the one case, be taken as a *primâ facie* proof of its untrustworthiness in the other; more particularly if, when challenged for untruthfulness, the friends of the person, had had recourse to every possible kind of evasion, to prevent its being brought to a judicial test? Who can doubt, that such enquiry would have been accorded, with the greatest alacrity, on my very first asking for it; if it had not been known perfectly well, that the issue of it, would have been to give me a triumph, and not the reverse? Did ever any one hear, of a Government's refusing an enquiry, to a man, they wanted to ruin; if they really thought his ruin, and not his exoneration, must be the result? Why, even a Neapolitan minister, would not refuse an enquiry, in such a case as that! As the reason of the refusal, was admitted to me in Bombay, by the very highest authority, there is no need, of my speculating, as to what it must have been; but even if it were not so, common sense could leave, on that head, no earthly doubt.

Have I not shown again, in the papers that I have laid before Lord Stanley; that of the two members of the council, there was but one who could be considered independent; and that he had voted in my favour? For the other had charges hanging over him, of the most serious description; and which, had he not died, before all the obstacles thrown in the way of his prosecutor, had been removed, would, most probably, have entailed on him dismissal from the service. I allude to the late Mr. Bell; the papers in whose case, any honourable member can call for. And it will thence be seen, how far he was in a position, to be a fit judge of right and wrong; or to go in any question, counter to the Governor; who was held by Mr. Goldsmid, the Revenue Secretary, completely in his pocket. His vote, could therefore, never be weighed against that of the other, the only really independent Councillor, Mr. Blane; who opposed the course, proposed to be adopted towards me by the Governor, throughout. And this on the express ground, that I had been acting strictly, in the conscientious discharge of my public duty; that the proceedings of Mr. Frere were wrong from the

outset, even according to his own showing; and that as he was in the wrong, he, Mr. Blane, did not see, why the Government should support him! Have I not further shown, that even Mr. Bell, admitted in his minute, that the course proposed by the Governor, was most questionable and unprecedented? Have I not also shown that the Judicial Secretary, to the Government, acknowledged to me, that he had been misled as to the case, by the report of Mr., now Sir Bartle, Frere; which he had since found to be directly opposed to the facts of the case, which had come within his own personal knowledge: and that he had, in consequence, done his utmost to obtain, the reversal of a wrongful act; to which he had been, thus, as one may say, an innocent party? And have I not further shown, that this gentleman, has since said, if I am to believe a friend of mine, now a member of the English bar; that he considered the Government's persistence in its wrongful course, under such circumstances, to be one of the most disgraceful things, that ever happened? So disgraceful; that beyond attaching his official signature to the papers, drawn up by Mr. Goldsmid, I believe, and sent to him for the purpose, by order of the Governor,—which he could not avoid doing,—he had declined to have anything further to do, with such a transaction?

These facts are all on record; the men referred to, are all alive, I believe, and can, no doubt, be easily questioned; and I named, besides, many others, whom I prayed might be examined, and who could have appeared for the purpose, at the India House, on any morning. Men, whom it is impossible, for me to conceive any reason, for the Government's not examining, unless the one, to which Mr. Gladstone attaches such infamy in Naples; when the same refusal has been made, to examine the evidences appealed to by the accused, in the courts which outrage justice there. But above all, have I not offered to leave the whole question, to the decision of the Crown's own law officers; men whose competence, to decide on the value of the evidence in the case, as well as on the legality and propriety of the decision come to, on it, it was impossible, to doubt? While, as I had never seen either of them in my life; it was equally, impossible that they could have had the slightest bias in my favour. On the contrary, their sympathies, must have all been in favour of Lord Stanley and his father, who had appointed them; and with whom, no doubt, they must have been on friendly terms. Could a fairer, a more reasonable, or more honourable proposition, have been made by any man; for the solution, of what, though it has been so disgracefully made a personal matter, is really a strictly judicial question? Why so fair a proposition was rejected, it is for Lord Stanley to explain. If the private offers made me by the gentleman, who undertook the negociation on Mr. Disraeli's behalf, really emanated, directly, or indirectly, from his authority, the motive is intelligible; and the fact of such offer being made, is, alone, sufficient to render an enquiry into the matter, the bounden duty, alike of the Government, and of the House of Commons. In any event, my proposal to leave the case, to the law officers of the Crown's decision, coupled with Lord Stanley's rejection of it,—while at the same time, so studiously refraining, from expressing any opinion himself, upon the subject,—does not tend to detract from the probability, of my being in the right in the affair. On the contrary, it tends to establish the view, that I was so; and that the Government knew it. It confirms the necessity of a public enquiry into the case; and such enquiry, I must hope, for the honour of all concerned, that the House of Commons, will not fail to institute.

In regard to the question concerning Mr. Disraeli, there is no need of speculating as to probabilities; for every thing relating to him, is in black and white;—the most material portion of it, in his own handwriting. Were it otherwise however; I doubt whether there would be anything so incredible, as to render enquiry quite unnecessary, in my thus unfolding a new page of unprincipledness, in his political career. With Lord Stanley the case is different; and I can only say, that none will be more happy than I shall be, to find him able to explain all that appears so dubious, in a manner consistently with personal, if not with public, honour. The latter, indeed, I should conceive to be impossible. For the

alliance with the India House, after all that had taken place; the speech on it, at the Fishmonger' Hall dinner; and the neglect to institute an inquiry, into the allegations contained in my letter, of the 13th of June last, so deeply affecting the character of his colleague, and of the Government he belonged to;—seem to me to be things, which no explanation could satisfactorily dispose of, be it what it might. However, he may be able to exhibit things in a very different light, from that in which they are viewed by myself.

I will add a hope, that while he is on his explanations, he will clear up a matter, which, as he is a public man, is of *public* as well as of *personal* importance; and which has not been without its influence, on the present case. For I will frankly confess, that to the rumour so prevalent, last summer twelvemonth, as to his public school antecedents, is attributable a great deal of the extreme hostility, with which every act of his, was regarded by me subsequently; and, which I am afraid, my letters to him, but too forcibly convey. For, if there be really, any foundation for that rumour; it is impossible, for any one to have the slightest respect for him, be his birth, or prospective wealth, and honours, what they may. If, on the other hand, there be no foundation for the rumour in question, it is in the last degree desirable, that a stop should be put to it authoritatively; as being a matter, which affects not only his own character;—but also, the character of the constituency that has sent him to Parliament; the character of the House of Commons, that has accepted him as one of its leaders; and the lustre of the Crown itself, in whose *most honourable* Privy Council, he has been assigned a seat. It were needless for me to repeat a story, which seems to be everywhere known, and as far as I can learn, everywhere credited; and which, therefore, whether true or false, must, I should suppose, have been heard, by every member of the House of Commons. All, I say is, that if that rumour be true, Lord Stanley ought now, to have sat in the Cabinet for the last time; because, *in that case*, he must be a man, from whom neither honour nor principle can be anticipated. If, on the other hand, that rumour be foundationless; as, for all I know, it may be; then it is in the last degree desirable, that it should be put down at once, by his high authority. For, true or false, it reflects discredit alike on the Crown, on the legislature, and on the nation generally; when such stories are left to float, without contradiction, in every London club house, and private circle; regarding one, who must be supposed, to represent the honour and principle of the nation, as well as its ability; in the leading place assigned him, of a cabinet minister of the Crown. What must foreigners think of us, under such circumstances? What must the great mass, of the people themselves think of us; when we are for ever telling them, that virtue, as well as intelligence, is an indispensable requisite for the possession of political power; and then illustrate the preachment by such practice as this, if the tale be true?

I have only, in conclusion, to express my trust, that if the enquiry be granted, I shall not have to provide the entire cost of it, at my own expense. For, as far as the matter relates to myself personally, I have already, over and over again, offered to leave it to the decision, of any competent legal authority, or of the law officers of the Crown; and it would be grossly unfair, therefore, to saddle me with the costs of proceedings, forced on me by the late Government's refusal, either to do me justice itself; or to leave the matter, to the decision of those, whose constitutional province it is to advise the Crown and its ministers, in such cases; and by whose decision, whether for or against me, I had pledged my honour implicitly to abide.

Besides, the matter, into which I call for enquiry, is one that affects the honour of the Crown, and the best interests of the nation, to the full as deeply, as it affects my own. For it cannot, be in accordance with either; that the same violations of justice, which have made the administration of it, in Naples, so universally odious, should be enacted here. Or, that justice, procurable readily enough from the tribunals, which, neither the Sovereign, nor her ministers, have any power to influence; should be a thing, as unattainable, as it is in Naples, where the persons one has to seek it from, are the immediate advisers of the Crown. Or that the

Government records, should be converted into an armoury of weapons, with which to assail the characters of the Crown's old, and faithful servants; and that redress should be refused to these, for the wounds thus inflicted on them; even when they have given satisfactory proof, of the wrong that has been done. Or, that officials should be protected, in making untruthful reports to Government; or, that enquiry should be refused, or evaded, into the truth of such reports, when challenged, by those affected by them, as untrue. Or, that imputations should be acted on, as true, by the Government; when it has afforded the best proof, of its own belief in the untruthfulness of them, by refusing to put them to such a test. Or, that when a high judicial officer, like the Judicial Secretary to a Government in India, has discovered that he has made an error, and inflicted a wrong in a judgment, which he has drawn up, for the Governor's signature:—he should be prevented from rectifying that error, and remedying that wrong, by the interference, in the case, of another high functionary, not belonging to the department of public justice at all; and guided solely, in that interference, by motives, of personal friendship to the one, and hostility to the other, of the parties concerned. Or, that such alleged perversions of justice, should remain unenquired into; when brought to the notice, of the proper minister of the Crown. Or, that a Secretary of State, for India, should pretend to invest, a past judicial decision of the Company, with the character of inviolability; when none have been louder than himself, and the party he belongs to, in proclaiming the judicial system, of the Company, to have been a disgrace to the nation that tolerated it, as well as to the whole civilized world.

Or, that the personal hostility, of a majority of the Councillors of India, to a petitioner for justice, should be alleged by the friend of a cabinet minister, as a reason for the Secretary of State, his colleague's, denial of that justice to him;—without the strictest enquiry being made into the origin, and grounds, of a report, so injurious to the character of the Crown's administration of justice; and, at once, taking steps, for the removal of the councillors, who had thus prostituted their powers, if the report proved true. Or, that, when terms are alleged to have been offered, for a cabinet minister's obtaining a favourabl decision, in a judicial case, from his colleague, the Secretary of State, for India; the latter, on its being officially reported to him, should fail to make an immediate and searching investigation into a matter; in which his own honour, and his colleagues', as well as that of the Crown, whom they represent, is so nearly concerned. Or, that members of Her Majesty's *most honourable* Privy Council, whether in pursuit of office, or in their endeavours to retain it; should be guilty of any act, at all inconsistent, with that high personal honour, naturally expected in the immediate councillors, and advisers, of the Sovereign; and for which, by the very act of their appointment, she gives, to her people, in some sort, her personal guarantee. Or, that where facts are publicly alleged, that can give even a colourable suspicion, of the want of such personal honour, having been exhibited; the Government should fail, as a matter of duty to the Sovereign, to have those facts, as publicly examined into, and cleared up. These things, I repeat, are not to the honour of the Crown, or to the interest of the nation; they are only calculated, to prove destructive of both.

Still less was it to the honour of the Crown, and the advantage of the country, that Her Majesty's late advisers, should have prevailed on her, to allow her royal name to be mixed up, in any way, with the past misgovernment of India; by appointing, to be the future life-councillors of India, under her, men, whom they themselves had declared, to be the authors of all this misgovernment, and the fosterers of every abuse. Men, whom they had joined in stigmatizing, in Parliament, and at public meetings, (setting aside all that they had said in their weekly organ, under Lord Derby s direct sanction, and approval, and under Mr. Disraeli's editorship-in-chief), as persons, who perverted their patronage, to ends inconsistent with the public welfare.—Who were hated by their subjects.—Who neglected the most obvious duties of a Government.—Whose rapacity, and selfishness, where notorious. —Whose finances were in a state most unsatisfactory.—Who neglected public works.—And

whose constant wars, constant deficits, no education, mal-administration of justice, chronic misgovernment, and the consequent deterioration of the country, and degradation of the people, were the most conspicuous features of their rule.—As men, whose Government was a mass of corruption, injustice, and extortion, which had reduced the people, almost, to a state of beggary; a system of intolerable oppression, antagonistic alike to the prosperity and happiness of the natives, and the real interests of this country. As men, whose subjects were pressed down by debt and destitution; prostrate, mentally and physically; and exhibiting a dead level, of squalid pauperism, misery, and starvation. As men, to whom the condition of the people, of India, was a perfect disgrace; and the delinquencies of whose European civilian servants, were not unfrequently, screened by them at home. As men, who cared less for the human beings, committed to their charge, than any farmer, in England, cared for the cattle that he owned. As men, whose servants extracted rents, for them, far exceeding their tenants' means of payment, by torture; and who, in attaining this paramount object, connived at an habitual violation of the law. As men, whose Government presented a spectacle, that was a disgrace to human nature; who left the grievances of their subjects, not merely unredressed, but unenquired into; and who had been described, by a distinguished historian, as a body "*deaf to mercy, and insensible to shame.*" As men, under whom, even women, had been tortured, in a manner, that could not be mentioned. As men, in fine, (for I must compress my extracts, from whole pages of similar language, within reasonable limits), under whom there was a total absence of all law and justice; and who kept a hundred and fifty millions of human beings, in India, under burthens and oppressions; which rendered it doubtful, whether their condition were not worse, than the slavery, we condemn in others.

That is the character, Lord Stanley and his colleagues, had themselves, united in giving, of this most unprincipled, and atrocious despotism; whose acts, in my own regard, he would now seek to invest, with all the inviolability, due to the decrees, of the God of Justice himself! Such are the men, as described by the Derbyites' own votes and tongues; whom they selected, as the fittest to heal India's wounds! Such are the set, according to the same authority; with whom they have, for life, bound up, the name and authority of England's Queen! Such the people, with whom she has to go, hand in hand, to the Congress; and invoke, through her representative, the support of Europe, for the Italians; against the alleged misgovernment, of the Archdukes, and of the Pope! Was ever Sovereign, put in so false a position? Yet, this, after all, is but the least part of the affair; if the assurances of Mr. Disraeli's friend, who made that appeal to me, *ad misericordiam*, are to be relied on;— as, coming from such a source, I can have no doubt, they may. For, according to that account; Lord Stanley and his colleagues, had not even the justification of a conversion; however tardy or suspicious, to justify the act. They did not; if his authority is to be accepted; declare to her Majesty, their true mind and opinion, —as, by their oaths, they were bound to do,—at all, in the matter. They advised her directly contrary to them; and this, for the mere purpose of currying favour with the Prince Consort;—on whom was, afterwards, thrown the whole odium of the measure; in order to save themselves, from the exposure, which their own want of principle had deserved. Happy Sovereign, to have such advisers! Fortunate Prince, to be blessed with parasites like these! Confiding nation, to put itself, even momentarily, into the hands of men; whose only policy is, alternately, to beslaver, and betray!

What can I say more?—If these things are not such as to call for enquiry, then close the book;—but let us hear no more, in that case, of English justice, or of ministerial honour. Let us allow, that there is not a pin to choose between, Mr. Gladstone's advisers to Royalty in Naples; and the advisers to Royalty, in this, our Island home. Let us admit, that, under the thin veneer of fine professions, there is as foul a mass of festering corruption, hidden here; as even the glowing pages of Mr. Gladstone, have depicted there. Let us confess, that the public men of England, only differ from the public men of Naples, in a consummate

vileness of hypocrisy, which can deceive no one; but, on the contrary, must only add to the contempt, with which they are viewed, by the rest of the world.—But no; I will not believe so ill of my country, as that comes to; merely because it contains, among its high officials, some, who ought never to have been entrusted with the powers of the Crown. I must hope, that the enquiry will be granted, which I solicit; and which none ought to be more anxious for, than Mr. Disraeli, and Lord Stanley, themselves. Of the result of such enquiry, I cannot doubt. For, though the innocent be sometimes confounded with the guilty, while the wrong-doer triumphs; justice seldom fails, to overtake the latter at last.

Sæpe Diespiter
Neglectus incesto addidit integrum;
Raro antecendentem scelestum
Deseruit pede Pœna claudo.

I have the honour to be,

My Lords, Right Honourable, and Honourable Sirs,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

ANTHONY BLAKE RATHBORNE,

Colonel, and late Collector and Magistrate of Hydrabad, in Scinde.

APPENDIX.

To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled.

The Petition of Anthony Blake Rathborne, an Honorary Colonel on the Retired List of her Majesty's Indian Army,—

Humbly sheweth,—

That your petitioner served in the Indian army from the year 1829 to the year 1856, when he retired on his pension, with the honorary rank of colonel; having obtained brevet rank for his services on the field of battle, as well as the Hydrabad medal.

That when your petitioner landed in India, the late Lord William Bentinck was Governor-General; and the encouragement afforded by him to discussions in the public journals, regarding Indian questions, had given a great impetus to that kind of writing. Among the most eminent of those who so employed their pens at that time, on the Bengal side of India, was the present Sir Charles Trevelyan; while, on the Bombay side, your petitioner was enabled, at an early age, to attract considerable attention by his writings to educational and economic questions. He was, indeed, he believes, the first promulgator of those doctrines which now find so much favour both in England and in India; regarding the redemption of the land-tax there, the establishment of freeholds, and the enfranchisement, on equitable terms, of all lands held on feudal tenures.

That these labours early opened to him the path to civil employment, had he thought fit to seek it; and eventually some papers on the military disasters at Cabul, attracted for your petitioner the warm friendship of the late General Sir Charles Napier, to whose pen they had been at first attributed—a friendship which remained unabated till that great man's death; as may be seen by the honourable mention made more than once of your petitioner in the *Life* of Sir Charles, written by his brother, Sir William Napier; and also by the certificate given him by Sir William, as the representative of his deceased brother, and which is now in the hands of Government.

That the first result of this friendship originating in a manner so honourable to the late Sir Charles Napier, and to your petitioner, was the appointment of your petitioner, on the conquest of Scinde, to the office of Collector and Magistrate of the whole British territory on the left bank of the Indus, amounting in extent to between twenty and thirty thousand square miles;—an office which, under the then circumstances of the country, was one of the deepest responsibility, as well as of almost unparalleled difficulty; but which your petitioner filled in a manner, to give the highest satisfaction both to the late Sir Charles Napier, and to the Supreme Government of India, under the immediate superintendence of which Scinde *was then* placed.

That on the departure of the late Sir Charles Napier from Scinde, the province was unfortunately transferred from the charge of the Supreme Goverment to that of the Bombay Government; the leading officials connected with which, had long been conspicuous for their hostility to the late Sir Charles Napier, to his system, and to the leading men under him—an hostility in which they had always been backed up, by the Court of Directors in England. Your petitioner, being particularly obnoxious to them, owing to the prominent position he held under the system; to the outspoken manner in which he had always stood forward in his late chief's defence; and to the part he had so long taken in exposing the abuses and follies of the Indian civilian system of government, with which, of course, all the dearest interests of the Indian Civil Service are bound up.

That, under these circumstances, your petitioner, having no hope of being able to retain his office with honour, in the face of such hostility, had decided on throwing up his appointment; but was prevailed on to remain, on seeing, in Sir Charles Napier's successor, a gentleman who had taken no part in any of the acts of hostility towards the late Sir Charles Napier; but, on the contrary, appeared to view his labours, and the labours of those who had served under him with the warmest admiration.

That, your petitioner served under this gentleman, Mr. Pringle, from the date of the late Sir Charles Napier's retirement from the province, till the date of Mr. Pringle's own departure from it, a period of over three years; and which, with the term passed under the government of the late Sir Charles Napier, embraced all but a few weeks of the whole period during which your petitioner served in Scinde. And that Mr. Pringle has given your petitioner a certificate, now in the hands of the Government; stating that he found your petitioner fully to justify, by his conduct, the very high character for zeal, and diligence, and ability, which the late Sir Charles Napier had given him of your petitioner, before leaving Scinde.

That, in January, 1851, Mr. Pringle retired from the province, having been driven into a resignation of his appointment, by the unceasing attacks made on him by the Bombay Government; and on his departure, he was succeeded by the present Commissioner.

That, a few weeks after the arrival of this gentleman, the present Commissioner in Scinde, your petitioner was struck down by a dangerous illness, brought on by a long and close attention to his arduous duties in so trying a climate, and was compelled to leave Scinde on sick certificate, for the usual period of two years.

That as long as your petitioner was present in the province, and for some months afterwards, till your petitioner had altogether left India for Egypt, the Commissioner professed the greatest esteem and friendship for your petitioner; and, in a certificate given by him at this period to one of your petitioner's subordinates, who was about to start for England, he spoke of your petitioner in the highest possible terms.

That, however, on your petitioner's return from Egypt, he found himself censured by the Government for the course taken by him, in regard to a case arising out of the outrages habitually perpetrated by an Irregular Regiment at Hydrabad; debauching, and carrying off the wives and sisters, and daughters of the people there; assaulting in the most brutal manner the husbands, fathers, and brothers, endeavouring to recover them;—singing infamous songs under respectable women's windows;—and doing other acts calculated to influence a Mahomedan population, to the highest pitch of fury and resentment. In the particular case in question, a husband had been knocked down by some sepoys and beaten till he was nearly senseless; when proceeding to recover his wife, accompanied by two native policemen, armed with your petitioner's deputy magistrate's warrant.

That, your petitioner was naturally astounded at such a view of such a case, being taken by any Government in its senses;—but discovered on going over it personally with the judicial Secretary, Mr. Lumsden, that the Government had been misled as to the facts, by the report sent in by the Commissioner.

That, this being so, your petitioner applied for a copy of his report, with a view to

publicly meeting and refuting it, but was unable to obtain it—though previous to its incorrectness being pointed out by your petitioner—the judicial Secretary had given your petitioner a private view of it, and communicated it officially to your petitioner's subordinate in Scinde. The judicial Secretary, did, however, exert himself to the uttermost to procure a reversal of the Government's proceedings, which had been drawn up originally by his own deputy; as soon as he had satisfied himself by personal enquiry, of the erroneousness of the report, on which they were based. But he was unable to effect this, owing to influences which he will doubtless be able to explain if examined, far more completely than your petitioner. But, though thus rendered powerless, he has not hesitated, your petitioner believes, to characterize this perversion of justice, in opposing the reversal of proceedings, found by him to have been adopted by him in error, in the language it deserved; while one of the only two members of Council that minuted on the case, was, throughout, opposed to the proceedings of the Governor on the question; on the expressed ground that he did not see why your petitioner, if in the right, should be treated as if in the wrong, by the Government; or why the Commissioner, if in the wrong, should be supported.

That, under these circumstances, your petitioner took the only course open to him, of throwing up the case under protest, and applying for his furlough to England. That, on his arrival here, he had an interview with the then Chairman of the Court of Directors, Mr. Russell Ellice; who invited him to lay any statement he might desire to make on the subject before the Court of Directors, promising that it should have the Court's best attention.

That, your petitioner did, accordingly, lay a full and detailed account of the case before the Court of Directors, referring to many officers then in England, including the lieutenant of police at Hydrabad during the period of the occurrence in question; by whose reports to him on the subject of the excesses of the Irregular Regiment in question, your petitioner had been chiefly guided. And your petitioner prayed that these officers might be examined, as being men whose testimony, as to the only real point at issue, the conduct of that Regiment, must necessarily be decisive. But the Directors, as a body, overruling the act of their chairman, as an individual, refused to examine these officers, or to enquire into the case; and returned the explanation, with the usual stereotyped answer at the India House, that they could not enter into any discussion on the subject.

That your petitioner finding all efforts to bring the question to an issue, thus systematically evaded, printed the whole correspondence with a view of having the matter brought if possible before Parliament; and he sent a copy of it to the Earl of Ellenborough, who had given your petitioner his cadetship, and, on the nomination of the late Sir Charles Napier, his Scinde appointment. But being advised, that in the then state of affairs (1854), it would be useless to attempt to interest Parliament in relation to any Indian question, he took no further steps in the matter; and having in the year 1855, received brevet rank for his military services in Scinde, he supposed that the Directors wished to consider the matter as honourably terminated in regard to your petitioner, by this promotion. The more so, as he was told, at the time, by one of the leading officials at the India House, that this was the light, in which the latter viewed the advance in rank thus granted to your petitioner.

That, shortly after your petitioner's return to England, it was proposed to him to continue those literary labours on behalf of India, to which he had before, when in India, devoted so much of his leisure; and this led to a literary connection with the party lately in office.

That, on the advent to the India Board, of the Earl of Ellenborough, your petitioner received from his lordship, an intimation, that he had been selected to be one of the Council of India, to be created under the new India Bill; an office, your petitioner, would observe, he had not aspired to, nor had he, directly, or indirectly, solicited it.

That, on the day, however, of the bill being introduced into the House of Commons, your *petitioner was* informed, by the President of the India Board, that some extracts had

been put into his hands from a despatch of the Directors, in 1854, to the Bombay Government; which contained reflections on your petitioner's management of his late district, believed by his lordship to be wholly unmerited, but which there being no reply to them on record, must decide his lordship to keep back your petitioner's name from the new Council.

That, your petitioner readily acquiesced in the propriety of this arrangement, of which, however, the President of the India Board, himself, expressed his sense of the extreme hardship; seeing that your petitioner was thus made to suffer so heavily, for imputations he had never even had an opportunity of seeing; and which, if he had had an opportunity of seeing them, he could, no doubt, have met and refuted. But your petitioner availed himself of his lordship's offer to furnish him with the papers; and decided at once to put a reply to them on record, so as to prevent the possibility of the matter, ever being resuscitated to the detriment of your petitioner.

That, on a perusal of the papers, your petitioner found them to have emanated from the same quarter, as the only other matter above described, that had ever been alleged against him. For nearly nine years, your petitioner had given the highest possible satisfaction to the late Sir Charles Napier and to Mr. Pringle,—for all the preceding years of his service, he had given the highest possible satisfaction, to all those whom he had ever served under:—in the four years succeeding his retirement from the service, he had received the highest acknowledgments of his talents from three several Cabinet Ministers,—he was about to be raised solely, on account of those talents, to one of the highest offices, a man, in his position, could aspire to,—yet, for the very few weeks, during which he was under the present Commissioner in Scinde, his whole character, it is assumed, must have altered—and the very high terms, in which the Commissioner, himself, had written of your petitioner, before he quarrelled with him, must have been written in error! Is this, what any man in his senses will believe?

That, your petitioner, has good reasons, for believing, that these imputations thus drawn forth from their archives, by the directors, *who were, themselves, candidates for the appointment that had been destined for your petitioner,* were known to be vexatious; at the time, when they were put into the hands of the President of the India Board, with the view of preventing your petitioner's receiving so flattering a reward of all your petitioner's labours. But be that, as it may, your petitioner had no difficulty in satisfying the President of the India Board, that they were utterly unfounded; and his lordship's last act, on leaving office, was to acquaint your petitioner, that his official reply to them was "*very satisfactory,*" and had been placed on record.

That, after the Earl of Ellenborough left office, differences arose between the Government and your petitioner, regarding its not giving some effect, to this complete exoneration of your petitioner, as well as to its favourable treatment of his late accusers; which your petitioner naturally looked on as a premium on such conduct, as well as most injurious to himself; and this led to a determination of your petitioner, to bring the whole case, in self-defence, before the public. That, thereon, followed rumours of further matter against your petitioner on the records of the Directors, which led to your petitioner's writing a letter to the Secretary of State for India, protesting against this system of hoarding up secret charges, to be dragged forth to your petitioner's detriment, as often as personal or political animosity might make it convenient; and demanding to be put in possession, once for all, of everything that could be found on the records of the India House, throughout the whole period of his service, against him.

That, the result was, the transmission to your petitioner of the papers in regard to the two matters described in this petition, as being all that was on record against your petitioner, from the day he entered the service to the day he left it. That one of these, your Honourable House will perceive, had just been decided by the President of the India Board entirely in your petitioner's favour; and in a manner, therefore, to throw the utmost discredit on the

other, both having originated in the same quarter. While, as to that other case, if it had not also, long before, terminated favourably to your petitioner; it was because the Indian Government had so frequently refused, to accept your petitioner's repeated challenges, to bring the matter to the issue of an enquiry—a refusal incompatible, your petitioner submits, with a regard to the impartial claims of truth and justice.

That, your petitioner, having returned the papers, with a detailed explanation on the subject, to the Secretary of State for India; he received, in reply, an intimation that his lordship had read his letter, but did not consider it necessary to pass any opinion on the subject; the matter, he said, having been previously disposed of. That, your petitioner remonstrated against this course of proceeding, which left the whole question open as heretofore; showing, that it had never been disposed of in any legal sense, all his endeavours to bring it to an issue, having invariably proved fruitless. He prayed, therefore, that a proper and regular decision might now be come to on it:—a request he thought himself the more entitled to insist on, because it was owing to the act of the Government itself, that its late revival to his prejudice was attributable.

That, this remonstrance, also, having proved vain, your petitioner prayed that the question, being a judicial one, should he referred to the Crown's law officers for their opinion; which, whether for your petitioner, or against him, your petitioner expressed himself willing to abide by.

That, this proposition, also, having been rejected, your petitioner has no resource but to throw himself on the protection of your Honourable House; for, he conceives, that nothing can be more foreign to all ideas of natural equity, as well as to the entire spirit of our institutions; than the right assumed by the late Government to keep, for ever in activity, against your petitioner, an official censure;—which originated, as your petitioner has shewn, in misstatement; which the judicial Secretary, who drew it up, afterwards admitted to be erroneous, and sought, therefore, the authority of the Government to reverse it; which one of the two members of the Council, at Bombay, was all along opposed to, on the ground that he did not see why the Commissioner, if in the wrong, should be supported; which your petitioner has five times challenged the Government to put to the test of an enquiry, if it doubts the statements of your petitioner—statements that he is ready to confirm on oath, as well as to support by the evidence of others, if need be; and which he has finally offered to leav to the dceision of the Crown's own law officers—men whose competence for the task must be undoubted, and whose bias, if they had any, would naturally be on the side of the Government that had appointed them, and not on that of your petitioner. If this be not sufficient proof of your petitioner's good faith, he knows not where proof of anything is to be found; and he is, for his part, totally unable to comprehend why so simple a mode of terminating the case should have been rejected by the late Government, if it really believed that the act of the Bombay Government was in accordance with law or justice, and such as ought to have been supported.

Wherefore, your petitioner humbly prays your Honourable House to institute an enquiry into the subject, and thereafter to take such steps, in regard to the matter, as the interests of justice and good government may appear to your Honourable House to require.

And your petitioner will ever pray, &c. &c.

A. B. RATHBORNE.

[*Presented to the House by Mr. H. A. Bruce, the Member for Merthyr Tydvil, on the 9th of August*, 1859.]

LONDON: CHARLES WESTERTON, PUBLISHER, ST. GEORGE'S PLACE, HYDE PARK CORNER.

SUPPLEMENT

TO

MR. DISRAELI, COLONEL RATHBORNE,

AND

THE COUNCIL OF INDIA.

A LETTER

ADDRESSED TO

THE RIGHT HON. AND HON. THE MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

BY

COLONEL RATHBORNE,

COLLECTOR AND MAGISTRATE OF HYDRABAD, IN SCINDE,
From the Conquest of the Province by the late Sir Charles Napier to the 18th of August, 1858,
OF THE HONORABLE SOCIETY OF THE MIDDLE TEMPLE,
Contributor from 1854 *to* 1858 *of Reviews and Leading Articles on India to the* PRESS *Newspaper;*
And Author of the Articles on "Lord Dalhousie's Administration in India,"
"The Life and Opinions of General Sir Charles James Napier,"
"Judicial Reform in India,"
"Land Tenures in India," "The Indian Revolt,"
And "The Double Government of India" in Nos. XX. to XXV. of the NEW QUARTERLY REVIEW.
&c. &c. &c.

London:

CHARLES WESTERTON,

27, ST. GEORGE'S PLACE, HYDE PARK CORNER.

1861.

SUPPLEMENT.

In the address to the Reader, prefixed to this re-issue, I have stated as follows:—"At the end of this re-issue, I have given a *Supplement*, containing proofs and authorities for such parts of the narrative as Mr. Disraeli has impugned the accuracy of; and I have also added a statement of what has passed officially on the subject, since the work itself was written. In this will be found some further specimens of those '*principles of honour and dispassionate equity*,' which Mr. Gladstone tells us, in his work on Neapolitan infamies, '*we are accustomed to perceive the very highest impersonation of*,' in the Ministers of the Crown of England.—What effect these new revelations may have on official minds I know not; but I shall be very much surprised if the deliberate and surpassing grossness of the injustice does not raise a feeling of strong indignation in the breast of every one else who reads them."

That promised supplementary information I now proceed to impart—placing the narrative of what has since passed officially on the subject first; and afterwards meeting the objections raised in Mr. Disraeli's published letter.

I should suppose that the character of the Indian Government, and of its officials, with whom I had to deal, must be pretty well known to every one in England by this time; but in order to show it more clearly I shall here give a couple of sketches of it, that appeared, about the time when the occurrences related in my narrative took place, in the two leading Journals of the Western Presidency. They have no relation whatever to this case; but as pictures of the state of Indian official morality at the period, they have an important bearing on the question.

"Not in Botany Bay itself," (said the *Bombay Times*, in February, 1852,) "does honesty rub shoulders with scoundrelism, with so little remorse or sense of degradation as in India. The most infamous liar finds himself in the highest favour with the greatest amongst us; the profligate, the seducer, the gambler, the cheat, the corrupt, all walk side by side with those who ought to be examples of all decorum, if not of virtue. There seems to be no amount of jobbery, and malversation, and mis-statement, at which public men will hesitate. Those who have power, use it for evil purposes, with the most perfect sense of security and fearlessness of a reckoning."

"Let not the English friends of Reform be deluded," (said the *Bombay Gazette*, about the same period)—"let them accept none of Hogg's facts and tabular statements, got up by James Cosmo Melvill, with the aid of Directorial relatives, and sycophants within the three Presidencies, for the deception of confiding members of Parliament. It is as notorious as the sun's daily progress in the heavens, that nepotism and favourites are almost the sole regulators of patronage; that sycophancy, toadyism, a pretty sister, or a convenient wife, tale-bearing, underhand services, and intrigue of all kinds, not merit, are the surest roads to preferment in this misgoverned country. Let them, ere they suffer themselves to be gainsaid by the scribes and orators in the Leadenhall Street interest, insist on the production of every document connected with the Oorun balances, with Ardaseer of Surat, with Jotabhae of Baroda, with Nursoo Punt, and Baba Fudkey—let them read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest these papers; let them each man for himself ascertain the value of an Indian official's conscience; let them see whether, in the prosecution of his object, be it to serve a malefactor, bully a rival, obtain revenge on an enemy, occasion a vacancy for a friend,

reward a prostitute, or secure the fruits of villainy, 'highly honourable' Indian officials will shrink from stating what is false, concealing what is true, &c. &c."

Indeed, in the very circumstances in which originated their differences with the Great Conqueror of Scinde, and subsequently with myself, may be found the best proof of their utter unscrupulousness, and of the mode in which they perverted to personal purposes, the great powers concentrated in their hands. The *Times*, in a late article on their treatment of the new civilians appointed by competitive examination, said "*it costs a civilian of the old school little, to cast a slur upon the honour of a new class of employés selected by merit, and quite unconnected with the caste that has so long ruled India.*" And in that little sentence, lies the secret of the origin of their ill-will to him. When Sir Charles conquered Scinde, he determined to govern it by military officers, selected entirely for their merits, instead of handing over the appointments *en masse* to the civilians, as had been done in the case of all the later conquests. Thus, the prizes that usually fell to them were given to myself and others; the extension of their service which they looked for was not required; and the valuable addition to this the richest portion of the Directors' patronage, which would have been consequent on it, did not take place. Nay, more, the then Governor General was understood to have proclaimed that if the experiment was successful, the exclusive Civil Service might be done away with; and an efficient and economical substitute thus found for the most costly, the most incompetent, and the most worthless service as a service, (though of course it has its exceptions,) that was ever permitted to caricature the art of governing in any country.

Hence the outcry of the India House, and of their civil servants in India, against this alone of all our annexations. Hence the bitterness with which they attacked the hero of Scinde and his government, of which they were for ever prophesying the failure, and doing all their little utmost, though in vain, to effect it. Hence the relentless animosity with which they pursued him while living; hence the virulence with which they attacked his memory when dead. Hence, too, the malignity with which they have sought to crush me too; whose only crime was being his leading lieutenant in the Civil administration of that Great Province; and the unceasing defender of that administration, against all the attacks they were so perpetually making on it in the public press. Covered by me with contempt and ridicule; beaten to pieces with their own weapons; sore to death with the blows received from me, in the contest which they had themselves provoked; they took a safer and surer method of dealing with me, after I came under their official authority, when Sir Charles left Scinde. The issue of their efforts in this new line this work has told, and this sequel to it tells. It was an infamous advantage to take; a shameful abuse of their official power and position, to turn them thus to the purposes of personal vengeance;—but bad as their conduct may have been, I look on it as nothing, compared to that of Mr. Disraeli and his friends. The former had at least the excuse of old scores to pay off, old grudges to gratify; the latter had the excuse of Judas, that the betrayal profited them. Mr. Disraeli, when he speaks of *my playing into the hands of my enemies* by quarrelling with my friends, virtually admits that I was sacrificed to their hostility. Could any thing worse be said of him, or of any minister, than what he has thus himself admitted.

Such being the character of the men I had to deal with, it will be readily understood how imputations on my administration of my Collectorate could have been put on record behind my back, such as those which were lugged forth from the Directorial archives, to prevent my being appointed to the India Council; and yet that they should have proved so entirely foundationless, when inquired into by the Earl of Ellenborough, the then President of the Board of Control. The reader will comprehend too how it was, that Lord Stanley could find no better way of escaping from giving a second verdict in my favour, and against his new allies, than by refusing so positively, and so pertinaciously, to give an opinion upon the matter at all. The whole series of shifts, and evasions, and denials of *justice*, will become intelligible; the rejection of my offer to leave the matter to the verdict

of the Crown's own law officers; and finally the disappearance, which I shall have shortly to narrate, of all the papers, from the records of the Crown. Under a system in which, when the object is "*to bully a rival, to take revenge on an enemy, or to occasion a vacancy for a friend, 'highly honourable' Indian officials will not shrink from stating what is false, concealing what is true, &c.;*"—in which "*the most infamous liar finds himself in the highest favour with the greatest amongst us;*" and "*they who have power use it for evil purposes, with the most perfect sense of security and fearlessness of a reckoning;*" it will easily be perceived, without my further dwelling on it, that the only plan of escape from such dilemmas, is the tortuous and ignominious course they have pursued. It was all very well for Lord John Russell and Mr. Elliott to tell the late Government of Naples, that they "accepted as conclusive the denunciations of men whom they dared not bring face to face with the accused, and this without any apparent shame"—that "innocence no longer protected a man from punishment in a country where he is not allowed to disprove the charges brought against him;" and that "the commonest rules of justice were not observed towards their subjects."—But what on earth is a Government to do, which knows that the charges it acts upon are false, and will not bear investigation? What, for instance, has the Indian Government been doing from time immemorial; and what do these pages show that the Government of this country does, when it has the ability to see, but not the honour and nobleness to admit and to redress, a most gross and cruel official wrong?

The petition which is given in the Appendix, having been presented towards the close of the Session 1859, I submitted another at the opening of the ensuing one, of which the subjoined is a copy.

"Petition, presented by the Member for Merthyr Tydvil, on the 30th January, 1860.

"*To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled.*

"The Petition of ANTHONY BLAKE RATHBORNE, an Honorary Colonel on the Retired List of Her Majesty's Indian Army,

"HUMBLY SHEWETH,—

"That your Petitioner submitted a Petition to your Honourable House on the 9th day of August last, praying for inquiry into certain acts of the late Government therein mentioned; and he now humbly approaches your Honourable House with a renewed prayer to that effect.

"Wherefore your Petitioner humbly prays your Honourable House to institute an inquiry into the subject; and thereafter to take such steps in regard to the matter, as the interests of justice and good government may appear to require. And not to allow the same perversions of justice, which an eminent member of your Honourable House has described as so degrading to the Government of Naples, to pass not only unpunished, but unquestioned, when alleged against the servants of the British Crown.

"And your Petitioner will ever pray, &c., &c.,

"A. B. RATHBORNE, *Colonel.*"

Shortly after this, Mr. Disraeli's letter in the *Star* appeared; and I then renewed my challenge to him, to an inquiry, which, as he professed to be so *defiant*, I wondered rather at his not taking up. He was however better pleased to adopt the course he followed; and every journal under his influence, having given publication to his flood of scurrilities on me, and at the same time studiously excluded my reply, he wrapped himself up in his virtue, and disappeared from the scene. Not, however, being disposed to be baulked of my aim, I

at once took measures to get the papers if possible laid before the House of Commons. With such facts as these would disclose, brought under its cognizance, evasion of inquiry must I thought be impossible; and what inquiry must necessarily result in, it was easy to foresee.

I soon found however to my amazement that I had entirely reckoned without my host. A mode had been adopted, which in my simplicity I had never dreamed of, for defeating most effectually any such attempt. "You must get up very early in the morning," (says the Jew in *Oliver Twist,*) "to win against the Dodger,"—and so I found it with the leading pupil in the great political Mr. Fagin's school. The papers I was told could be given; only it so happened, that, while my official correspondence with Lord Ellenborough, was in its place in the records, as it ought to be,—of my official correspondence with Lord Stanley, which I need not say was the correspondence on which every thing hinged, "*not a trace*" (to use the words of Sir Charles Wood in reply to the applicant in my behalf) "*was to be found in the office.*" Every particle of it had been carried away by Lord Stanley, without a word of intimation to me of any kind!

On this part of the case I will not trust myself to dwell. To state the fact is sufficient; and on that fact I leave my countrymen to found their judgment. I felt so strongly on the subject myself, that I took steps, to see whether it would not afford ground for legal proceedings; but I was told I had no *locus standi*, the papers that were gone, being not my property, but the Crown's. There could be no room however for error about the matter; for none of the letters in question were in any way private, or in a private form. They were all public and official, and written on foolscap with the usual official quarter margin. They were all addressed to Lord Stanley, as "Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India;" they were all superscribed by me "On Her Majesty's service;" they were all in reply to, and on the subject of official papers forwarded to me from the India House officially, by the Assistant Under Secretary of State for India; and they were all in the "*Judicial Department*" in which documents are usually held more than ordinarily sacred, by those into whose hands they officially come. However, they were gone! Lord Stanley had himself been the custodian of these documents, on which alone he knew I could call to account in Parliament, himself, and his colleague, and his new allies. He had turned his power to the purposes I have stated; I was treated to one more specimen of "*those principles of honour and dispassionate equity*" which Mr. Gladstone tells us, "*we are accustomed to perceive the very highest impersonation of*" in the ministers of England's Queen; and the tone of defiance adopted by Mr. Disraeli, while carefully eschewing inquiry, was at once explained. Extremes they say meet; they do indeed with a vengeance, if this be according to the recognized practice of the ministers of the Crown.

Lord Derby's Government having by their clever management effectually disposed of this part of the case, I next decided on applying for the correspondence with Lord Ellenborough, which, though it did not affect *them* materially, might still be of some service to *me.* But then a new difficulty arose. I had sent to Lord Ellenborough, an explanation of the imputations on me by the Directors, which he had stated in his reply to me to be "*very satisfactory;*" but that reply being in the form of a note, he had not put it on record. I had, however, done so subsequently myself, by sending a copy of it officially to Lord Stanley; but of this, with the other official papers referred to in the last paragraph, not a trace was now to be found in the office. The only thing left me, therefore, (the reply as will be seen from the tenor of it being most essential,) was to ask Lord Ellenborough's permission to send a copy of it officially to the new Secretary of State for India; and this having been accorded, I forwarded it with a letter to him, as follows:—

"15, St. James's Square, June 25th, 1860.

"SIR,—Understanding that there is no reply on record to my letter of the 9th or 10th of April, 1858, to the then President of the India Board, the Earl of Ellenborough, I have the *honour* to submit, that a Reply was sent me by his Lordship, conveying to me his opinion

that my explanation was very satisfactory; and with the permission of his Lordship, I take the liberty of appending a copy of it, for the information of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,
"Your most obedient Servant,
"A. B. RATHBORNE, Colonel,
"Late Collector and Magistrate of Hydrabad, in Scinde.

"The Right Hon. Sir C. Wood, Bart., G.C.B.,
"Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India."

(Copy.)

"Eaton Square, June 5th, 1858.

"DEAR COLONEL RATHBORNE,—Your very satisfactory letter of explanation with respect to the observations made by the Court upon your conduct as Collector of Hydrabad, is gone to the India Board to be recorded as you desired.

"Not thinking that it was a pressing matter, and finding that I had a good deal of difficulty in reading your writing, I put off the business till I should have leisure, which I have only found now.

"I should think that, although you are no longer in their service, the Court could hardly refuse to receive and record a copy of your letter, if you thought fit to send them one.

"Yours very faithfully,
"Colonel Rathborne." "ELLENBOROUGH.

As Sir Charles Wood, though I did not see him personally, had not seemed ill-disposed towards me, I imagined of course that everything was now in proper train, at least as regarded this part of the affair. I therefore, after a few days had elapsed, asked the same member of the Legislature, who had been kind enough to interest himself in my favour before, to request Sir Charles Wood that my official explanation to Lord Ellenborough might now be printed; and with it his Lordship's reply, which had been sent to him, and in which it was stated that my explanation was "*very satisfactory.*"

This at once set the ingenuity of the India House again at work. I had been exonerated from their imputations, but they determined that I should take no benefit from that exoneration, for that it should never be allowed a place upon their records. My public career had been destroyed by them; one of the most valuable as well as honourable of the secondary offices under the Crown had been intercepted by them, and its income transferred to their own pockets; and above all, a stigma had been affixed to me almost impossible to remove. All this had been done by them, and done through means of imputations, which had proved on enquiry to be utterly without foundation. Yet even all that did not quench their thirst for vengeance. My last possession, my honour, I was to be deprived of, and the poor satisfaction was to be denied me, of proving at any rate that my sufferings had been undeserved. That is the plain English of their answer to me; which I will do Sir Charles Wood the justice to believe he never knowingly, or at any rate reflectingly, authorized them to send me. I have shown that answer, to one who has filled the highest offices in the public service of the country; and who is fully conversant with official routine and custom, as regards Cabinet Ministers, dealing with cases on leaving office; and it was impossible for man to express himself more decidedly, as to the total violation of official custom involved in it; or to exhibit greater indignation, at this *refinement* of India House malice and cruelty than he did.

"India Office, July 7th, 1860.

"SIR,—In acknowledging the receipt of your letter of the 25th ultimo, forwarding copy of a letter from the Earl of Ellenborough to yourself, relative to your conduct as Collector of Hydrabad, I am directed by the Secretary of State for India in Council to observe that it

can only be regarded in the light of a private communication, as his Lordship had ceased to hold the office of President of the India Board at the date when it was written, and that it cannot therefore be placed on the records of this office.

"I am, Sir,

"Your obedient Servant,

"Colonel Rathborne." "HERMAN MERIVALE.

On the receipt of this I sent the following Reply, and I then put the matter into the hands of Counsel, whose *opinion* on it terminates the tale of these proceedings. The act, Counsel held to be "*in disregard of the first principles of justice;*" but at the same time it was an act, for which there was no remedy by law provided. My only hope of redress, lay in a renewed appeal to the honour and conscience of those who had so wronged me; an appeal which, it is needless to say, I never made, and never intend to make to them.

"Herne Bay, Kent, July 19th, 1860.

"SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 7th inst., intimating the refusal of the Secretary of State for India in Council to allow the letter of Lord Ellenborough, forwarded with mine of the 25th ultimo, to be placed on record.

"At what precise date, Lord Ellenborough ceased to be President of the India Board, I know not. But it is clear, that if it was before writing the letter in question, he must have come to some arrangement with his successor, regarding the disposal of the cases that had arisen during his tenure of office; as it bears on the face of it, the proof of having been written in the discharge of this duty, and of having been sent to me at the same time, that he sent my letter referred to in it, to the India House for record. I would further beg to observe, that it has been over and over again laid down by the highest authorities, that the substance of *all* letters of public officers, no matter what their form, ought in some shape or other to be made matter of record, when they relate to official business, as this did.

"The decision you intimate to me, is, under these circumstances, taken in connection with all that has gone before, susceptible of but one construction. This is, that however clearly I may have been exonerated by the late President of the India Board, from the imputations of the late Directors and present Councillors of India, referred to in the letter, they are quite determined, that I shall take no benefit whatever from the exoneration; all those imputations on me remaining as before on the file, while the President of the India Board's letter of exoneration is carefully excluded from the office records.

"The position in which the matter is thus placed, renders my further troubling the Secretary of State for India in Council on the subject unnecessary. The only thing now left me, is to ascertain whether the Law will not afford redress and protection to a man who is not their servant, against so deliberate, so continuous, and so persistent a course of wrong on the part of the India Council.

"I have the honour, &c.,

"A. B. RATHBORNE, Colonel,

"The Under Secretary of State for India." "&c., &c.

OPINION OF COUNSEL.

Ex parte Colonel Rathborne.

"I have carefully perused and considered the papers which have been laid before me behalf of Colonel Rathborne, respecting the charges brought against him by Sir Bar (then Mr.) Frere, and afterwards communicated to the Government of this country by Directors of the East India Company. It is clear that Colonel Rathborne has sustai

very serious injury from the report of Mr. Frere, and the despatch, which the Directors subsequently founded upon it; it is true, that the statements contained in it, do not affect the honour of Colonel Rathborne, but they strongly reflect on his administrative capacity as collector of Hydrabad, and have already had the effect of depriving him of an honourable and lucrative appointment. Colonel Rathborne has also reason to complain of the injustice, as well as the injury, to which he has been subjected by reason of these charges having been published and circulated without his knowledge, and without his having had an opportunity of meeting and explaining them. From the papers laid before me, it is evident that the statements contained in the Report and Despatch admit of the most satisfactory explanation, so far as Colonel Rathborne is concerned; and it seems to me that his request, now that the charges against him have been fully investigated, to have the late President of the India Board's entire exoneration of him recorded, together with the charges, cannot be refused without a disregard of the first principles of justice. At the same time I am clearly of opinion that there is no mode provided by the Law of enforcing this request, and the only course open to Colonel Rathborne is to memorialize the present Council of India upon the subject. His memorial should show the high value placed upon his former services by those who were most competent to judge of them, the circumstances under which he administered the affairs of Hydrabad, the testimonials received from the Governor General of India, and other authorities, as set forth in the case laid before me, the manner in which the report of Mr. Frere was made and the subsequent despatch framed, and the communication of that despatch to the English Government before Colonel Rathborne knew of its existence, or had any opportunity of replying to it, his full answer to every part of the report and despatch, and the circumstances which have caused delay in bringing the matter before the Council.

"HENRY MACNAMARA.

"Temple, December 21st, 1860."

So ends the narrative of my attempt to obtain I will not say justice, but at least that slight satisfaction to the wounded spirit, involved in the public acknowledgment, that the injustice which had been done me had been undeserved. So finished my enforced experience of "*those principles of honour and dispassionate equity*" which Mr. Gladstone, in his work on Neapolitan infamies, tells us "*we are accustomed to perceive the very highest impersonation of in the ministers of the Crown of England!*" Well, after all, I must not complain, I am merely fulfilling my destiny; and working out a general law of nature. That law which assigns to the noblest and truest, in all ages martyrdom; and to the meanest and the falsest, worldly wealth and honours. Nor is it to be wondered at.—Rats revel in sewers, in which a higher order of animal would perish; and Disraelis thrive in an atmosphere, of which the dying Dundonald writes the following moral: "That they who in political matters propose to themselves a strict and rigid adherence to the truth of their convictions, irrespective of personal consequences, must expect obloquy rather than reward; and that they who obstinately pursue their professional duty in the face of routine and official prejudice, may think themselves lucky if they escape persecution."—He adds, however, that if his time were to come over again, he would be the same as heretofore, all his cruel persecutions notwithstanding.—Brave old spirit. And so, with God's help, would I too.

Turn we now to what more personally relates to Mr. Disraeli; the points in which he has impugned the accuracy of my narrative.

In the first place, then, I must take leave to correct an impression. which has got abroad, and which Mr. Disraeli, though perfectly aware of its untruthfulness, has done his best to give weight and currency to;—the impression, namely, that I had the slightest desire to obtain any office or employment whatever under the Derby Government, on their obtaining office. I have stated, at page 30 of the work, that their weekly organ, the *Press*, having

been sold, and my formal connection with them having thus ceased, I was about to leave town on a long vacation, such as I deemed myself entitled to, after the unremitting labours of the past four years. But that a friend of Mr. Disraeli's and mine having mentioned that my services would be required by them in connection with the affairs of India, I staid at home; for that, nothing, of course, would have given me greater pleasure than to aid them in carrying out those measures in office, which I had so long aided them to advocate out of it, and which I knew myself to have a more thorough and complete knowledge of than any one in their ranks, however high. But it was never supposed by me, that such aid was to have anything to do with holding any office under them. The aid I contemplated rendering them was entirely of an unofficial and gratuitous kind. In order to show that this was the case, I shall here give the letter which induced me to give up my project of leaving town; premising that it was written by the gentleman through whom Mr. Disraeli had first sought my acquaintance, and who was fully cognizant of all the circumstances in connection with it from first to last. It will prove to the reader more clearly than a thousand pages of argument of my own could do, the entire untruthfulness of Mr. Disraeli's assertion, that it was I who was running after his acquaintance, not he after mine, and that my services to the party were unsolicited. For here, the writer will be found positively remonstrating with me, on the little store I seemed to set upon that acquaintance which Mr. Disraeli says I sought; and this, be it borne in mind, when he had got possession of one of the highest offices under the Crown. The date is not given, for the writer generally put to his letters the day of the week only; but it bears sufficient evidence in itself, of the time at which it was written:—

"My dear Colonel,—I am sorry to hear of your indisposition, and I would not for the world that you should, under such circumstances, impose on yourself such a laborious task, as the writing of an article such as the subject deserves, and you would desire, upon the annexation of Oude, and so we will postpone that for the present. Perhaps after all it may be better; for, before we have Oude at our disposition, such an article might embarrass the Government, and would, perhaps be considered premature. But, my dear Colonel, when you talk of going out of town for a lengthened stay, are you not acting in a manner prejudicial to your own interests?

"Your great knowledge of India would be of infinite use, during the forthcoming India debates, and I think you would be wrong in abstaining from offering your opinions in a quarter, where I know they are always acceptable. It does not appear to me kind or considerate, for you to absent yourself in the way you do. You must remember the position of a minister, ever engaged in multifarious duties, trebly increased when that minister holds, in addition to a high post, the leadership of the House, and is the virtual head of a great party. I think it would be wise for you to call and pay your respects since the late change; and it certainly would be politic that you should be at hand, ready for reference during the approaching debates. Accept these suggestions, my dear Colonel, in the spirit in which they are offered.

"Ever truly yours,

"——"

That the writer did not speak without book, in this matter of the party requiring my services, may be inferred from the fact, that on my first visit to Mr. Disraeli, (which, however, did not take place till after I had received an intimation from Lord Ellenborough of my nomination to the India Council,) he mentioned that Mr. Philip Rose had been looking for me everywhere; and the next day, the object of his looking for me was made apparent, by his coming to me on the part of Mr. Disraeli, hoping that I would resume the pen in their support, as I have in the work stated. I did so; and at the Cardwell crisis *he again* applied to me for aid, in relation to the debate then impending; in proof of both *which statements, I beg to give* the following letter from him:—

"Victoria-street, Westminster Abbey, S.W.,
"May 13th, 1860.

"My dear Sir,—Mr. Hardy, Under Secretary for the Home Department, is very anxious to have some conversation with you on Indian matters, and has asked me to bring about a meeting. He is desirous of some information, which he thinks you can supply, bearing upon the motion of Friday. Am I asking too much in requesting you to favour him with a call at the Home office between twelve and two o'clock to-morrow?

"Believe me, my dear Sir,
"Yours very truly,
"PHILIP ROSE.

"I hope you know how much we all feel indebted to you, for your most able articles on Indian affairs in the *Standard*." (The paper which Mr. Rose had come to me with a request from Mr. Disraeli that I would write in, as above explained.)

I think the reader will clearly see, from the documents thus produced by me, that it was *entirely* for the convenience of Mr. Disraeli and his party that I remained in town; and that I had no desire for office from them of any kind. I stated this repeatedly to the writer of the first of these two notes, when he was so constantly going on to me about Mr. Disraeli's desire to show his gratitude to me in some substantial shape. And it was with a view simply of letting Mr. Disraeli clearly understand, that I was *not* a candidate for place of any description, that I addressed him the note alluded to, and which he is quite at liberty, if he pleases, to produce. I have no copy of it myself, or I would give it here; but in it I distinctly stated, that the only favour I cared to have from the Government, if they liked to confer on me any, was the honour, or its equivalent honour, which I was entitled to for my services in Scinde. And this, I added, I had no doubt Lord Ellenborough would be most ready to confer on me; as he had *himself* recommended my applying for it to the Directors, and afterwards to the President of the India Board, in the year 1856. The notes to Sir William Napier, in which he did so, are not in my possession; but a copy of Sir William's note to Lord Ellenborough, on the subject of the Directors' refusal, I print below. It will establish the fact beyond dispute; and also show what Sir William, the brother of my deceased Chief Sir Charles, the Hero of Scinde, thought of that refusal.

"August 8th, 1856.

"My dear Lord Ellenborough,—You will remember advising Lieut.-Colonel Rathborne to apply to the Directors about recommending him for the C.B.

"He has done so, as you will see by the enclosed papers, and the answer *smells*, I think, of hatred. He has asked me to transmit the papers to you in hopes you may do something for him, and therefore I do so.

"That he deserves the decoration I think certain; but when it is so profusely given and permitted to be disposed of or refused by the Directors, who, as in this case, evidently make their own passions and not the merit of the claimant the rule, I cannot say to have it would be an honour; nor do I see how to proceed for Rathborne. You may, perhaps, be able to serve him, and very much indeed would it gratify me if you can.

"I think that the curt, even insolent, tone of Mr. Melvill's answer would at least justify some public notice; as it clearly shows the Directors do not take service into consideration, but treat the application entirely as one of favour. This is very degrading to the Crown, from which all honour should flow direct, and the recommendation of the Directors cannot be supposed analogous to that of a General in the Field, who has had the means of observing the actions of the officer he recommends.

"Believe me, yours very truly,
"W. NAPIER."

Now if Mr. Disraeli had merely written in reply, to say that he would, or would not, bring the matter to Lord Ellenborough's notice,—there, as far as he was concerned, would have been an end of the matter. In the one case, Lord Ellenborough would have clearly understood what would have been most agreeable to my wishes; and I should not have been thrust *nolens volens*, among the flock of directorial cormorants, that stood screaming, and fighting, and clawing like a parcel of enraged vultures, at every one who happened to be put forward as a candidate for one of the new appointments. Raking up on every side every thing that they could find against him, true or false; but quite oblivious of all that was on record in the Proceedings of Parliament, and in the annals of the country against themselves; and that it was solely owing to their own disgraceful incapacity, nepotism, and misgovernment, that any Reform in the Government of India at all was required. On the other hand, if Mr. Disraeli had declined doing so, I should have known at once what all his fine professions went for; but that of course would not have suited his book, as he had further tasks to put upon me.

However, as I have since found out, as stated in the text, he did just *nothing*. He sent me the note that follows to be sure, and which I have characterized as being couched in terms so ambiguous that they might mean anything or nothing. The "*friend*" therein spoken of I *then* understood of course to be Lord Ellenborough; but his Lordship, in a note which I shall give an extract from, has *since* distinctly stated, that till he nominated me to the Council, which was not till a fortnight afterwards, Mr. Disraeli never mentioned my name to him, nor had he the least idea that I was even known to him. While of any literary services rendered by me to the party he had never heard a word from him.

The following is Mr. Disraeli's note alluded to:—

"Downing-street, March 10th, 1858.

"My dear Colonel,—I have spoken very fully respecting you to a friend of mine.

"Yours sincerely,

"D."

A fortnight after this I received the following note from Lord Ellenborough, intimating his nomination of me to the Indian Council:—

"Eaton-square, March 25th, 1858.

"Dear Colonel Rathborne,—Unless I should hear from you that it would not be convenient to you to sit in the new Council of India, you will be named in the Bill as one of the first members, representing the Bombay Army.

"Yours faithfully,

"Colonel Rathborne." "ELLENBOROUGH.

Now as I had not seen Lord Ellenborough for a twelvemonth; and as I had not had the slightest communication with him, direct or indirect, upon this or any other subject; as I was not, I repeat, a candidate for place or office of any kind, and had never given any one the slightest reason to suppose I was so; I, not unnaturally, attributed the offer to Mr. Disraeli's influence, and went to thank him for it accordingly, as being an honour far beyond either my deserts or my desires. He told me there had been no difficulty about it; for that the moment he proposed me for the office to Lord Ellenborough, his Lordship had said to him that I was the very man he had himself hit upon for the appointment. He did *not* give me to understand, what, a year afterwards I learned from Lord Ellenborough, namely, that he never went to his Lordship at all about it; and that it was not till Lord Ellenborough had given my name to him to be put in the Bill, that he was aware that I was even known to Mr. Disraeli. The following is what his Lordship says: and I leave the reader to judge, whether it does not amply warrant the description of the *affair given by me in the text*, at page 31.

Extract from note from Lord Ellenborough, dated May 2nd, 1859.—"When I mentioned you to Mr. Disraeli, as one of the members of the Council of India, he seemed much pleased, and spoke highly of your talents; *I was not till then, aware that he knew anything of you.* That you had written in the *Press*, I did not know till I received your letter of the 27th April."

Of course a man can only write narrative, which depends on other testimony than his own, according to the authorities he has before him. I have given mine as to this matter; and can have no doubt that it will be seen, that I have adhered to them scrupulously, in the statement made by me regarding it. As to any other endeavours of Mr. Disraeli to serve me, there is to be sure his word for them. But on the other hand, we have seen what that word is worth in this case; and then we have the positive statement of Lord Stanley, Lord Ellenborough's successor, (page 72,) that "*of my alleged claims on Mr. Disraeli he knew nothing.*" There is further the statement of Mr. Disraeli's friend at foot of page 60, that there was "*an intention at a more favourable opportunity to have the whole thing cleared up; but with the existing hostile element in the Council, it was not thought advisable to stir in the matter;*" leaving it to be understood, (indeed he distinctly says so,) that here again Mr. Disraeli's endeavours to serve me consisted in doing nothing. But there is above all the plain obvious fact, staring every one in the face, that as all I at any time wanted, was that the justice should be done me, which in common with all the Queen's subjects I was entitled to, irrespectively of directorial intrigues or the animosities of those in power; it was *utterly impossible*, in the very nature of things, that if Mr. Disraeli had really desired to serve me, he could have found any difficulty in doing so in the *only* way ever required. All he would have had to do, was to tell his new directorial allies, as well as his colleagues, that if I was in the wrong, I must take the consequences; but that if I was in the right, I should not be crushed by underhand intrigues of that kind; more especially after the worthlessness of the imputations already raised against me, had been proved on investigation by the Earl of Ellenborough. Had he done so, these reptiles would have soon slunk back to their holes again; or if they had not, his course would have been a clear one. He would have frankly communicated to me what was going on behind my back; and having done so, he would have complied with the request I should have made him, to have every paper in the case laid bare to the world, by being printed for the use of the House of Commons. That would have been acting a plain and manly part;—the part of a friend, the part of a statesman, and the part of a man of honour. Other aid I never wanted from him or from any man. I can meet my own foes, and can fight my own battles, thank God, where a clear stage only is given me to fight them in; and as regards every act of my life, I am quite content to stand or fall by its merits. But mystification, secret minutes, charges made and then not gone to an issue on; evasions, suppressions, removal of papers, and refusals to allow exoneration when pronounced, a place on the public records;—these are things which not the ablest, nor the honestest, nor the most guileless can contend against; and they are a disgrace to the country, and to the Legislature, which for an instant tolerates them.

But as I have said at page 42 of the work, there was no pretence whatever made of any imputations by the Directors, saving those from which Lord Ellenborough had completely exonerated me, *till the report of such was set afloat in Mr. Disraeli's own connection, as soon as I had decided on making public the whole affair.* The following correspondence which took place between us, and which I have given the substance of in the text, will clearly show this: and also prove how entirely unsolicited, by me, had been the seat in the Indian Council, or any other office. I need not repeat what I have stated in the text at page 43, that, when I *did* suggest to Mr. Disraeli, on his own invitation, how the annoyance might be mitigated, my letter remained unanswered; till reflecting over the matter, in sheer disgust and weariness, I withdrew all claim on him in reference to the affair. His *anxiety to serve me* on that occasion, was shown by his taking me at my word; he never condescended to point out the miscon-

ception I was labouring under, if I was labouring under any; and he was, doubtless, too glad to be rid of obligations which he had no real intention of fulfilling, for I never heard a word from him more;—never, at least, till the infamous course pursued towards me by his Government, had compelled me again to address him; and then, when I had replied with passionate indignation, to the proposition intermediately made to me, in relation to his letters to me, I received the note from his Private Secretary given at page 65.

"Wednesday, September 8th, 1858.

"My dear Sir,—Agreeably to your instructions when I last saw you in the beginning of July, I have remained in town awaiting the communication which you led me to expect; but have not heard a syllable from Lord Stanley or yourself. It seems to me, therefore, now time to bring this disagreeable affair to a close.

"I will not enter into the question of the "*pre-eminent services*" which your letters, now before me, so often assured me I was rendering to you, and that of "*how deeply you were all indebted to me*," as Mr. Rose's letter, written in the throes of the Cardwell contest, averred. Of such services it was quite optional with you to make me any recognition or not. Pecuniary reward, in any shape, I wanted not, and if I hoped for honorary, it was more for public objects than my own. Neither simple knighthood nor a civil C.B.-ship would have added, in the slightest degree, to my present social position, even if it could be supposed that such addition could have been of importance to one who never goes into society, and values its petty distinctions at their intrinsic worth. Why such an honour conferred on me would have been deemed valuable, was that it would have shown that the reign of directorial malignity was terminated, with which, as Lord Ellenborough said last session in the Lords, they had ever visited those who dared to oppose their system, and question their acts. It would have, moreover, shown that the Crown valued, if the Company did not, the services of those who laboured with the late Sir Charles Napier in Scinde.

"It did not, however, please the Government to grant the favour I had requested; but it proposed to confer another on me, which was, so far, most gratifying, as being a distinction of the highest kind; but which, in other respects, was much less agreeable to me, because I had no desire to change a life of literary leisure that was very consonant to my tastes and habits, for Government employ. However, no sooner was this office tendered to me, than directorial and secretariate animosity set itself in motion, and the offer was withdrawn on grounds, which I afterwards satisfied Lord Ellenborough to be foundationless and false.

"Had the matter been kept an entire secret, it would, perhaps, have signified little if it had rested there. But it had not remained secret. A Director had taken care to make it public, with most offensive comments of his own, on the success which had attended the planting of so foul a blow. It did, therefore, appear to me, as it appeared to one of the most distinguished men in this or any other country (the late Sir William Napier), to whom, in confidence, I submitted the case, that the least that the Government could do, as men of honour, was to repair the injury that had been thus inflicted by them, in a manner that should leave all question of my character beyond dispute. And that this reparation they owed me, as from man to man, setting all question of gratitude for past favours out of sight. He thought, as I did, that there was no necessity for their giving me the specific office in question, or, indeed, any office to which salary was attached. That he considered, as before, a matter of favour, not of right. But he did think, that having put my name forward for an office which I did not solicit, and then withdrawn it on grounds which proved to be foundationless and false, they were bound to show, by some mark of honour, or other clear and unmistakable public act, that no imputation whatever was held to rest upon me, but that my exoneration was, as Lord Ellenborough admitted it to be, most satisfactory and complete.

"My object in now addressing you, is simply to ascertain definitively whether or not the Government is prepared to do this, and so remedy the present injurious consequences to me

of their act. I repeat, I do not ask of you any favour; I ask what there is no man of honour in the country that can hesitate to declare to be my right. But in any case I must beg of you to terminate my suspense. It is now more than five months since I suffered this injury, but I have waited patiently in hopes that you might do me justice, though I might, had I chosen, have long since come forward and conquered justice for myself. In the same confidence I have now written to you, and shall eagerly await your reply.

"Believe in me, my dear Sir,

"Yours very sincerely,

"A. B. RATHBORNE.

"The Rt. Hon^ble. B. Disraeli, M.P.,
"&c., &c., &c."

"Hughenden Manor, Sept. 9th, 1858.

"MY DEAR COLONEL,—Your annoyance in this affair cannot exceed my own.

"If you can, on reflection, throw out any practical plan by which the feeling may be mitigated, you may rely on my utmost efforts to accomplish it.

"I will say no more at present; for after my fruitless though cordial attempts to serve you and recognize publicly your great merits, I have greatly lost my self-confidence in such affairs.

"Yours very sincerely,
"D."

The remaining assertions of Mr. Disraeli will be easily disposed of. He denies having authorized his friend to apply to me for his letters; but at the same time he admits the account I have given of the transaction to be correct. He only denies the deductions I have made from it. After all, I think the difference is not a very material one. He wrote me, saying, he *would not* interfere in the case, because I had told Lord Ellenborough that I purposed making public use of his letters to me; his friend wrote me, saying, he *would* interfere, if I would only forego the intention, and return those letters to him. In either case the point established is much the same; namely, that I was left to suffer what was known to be a wrong, because I had given umbrage to a minister in a matter which had no relation to it. Both Mr. Disraeli and his friend have spoken of the hostility of my enemies; both have used nearly identical terms in reference to it, so identical as to show the source of each to have been the same; and both gave me to understand, that I might attribute the position I was in, to the course adopted by me in relation to Mr. Disraeli's letters. In the one view of the case, the thing might wear a worse *official*, or *legal* aspect than in the other; but the *moral* aspect of it is in each the same. It is the case of a man who stands idly by, while his creditor is being basely murdered; saying, in the one instance, I would have saved you, if you had not threatened to proceed on my I O U to you; and in the other, I will save you, if you will only give that paper up to me.

Previously to my expressed intention of taking the course I had been advised to take, in reference to the matter, there was, as I have said, no pretence whatever, made in Mr. Disraeli's circle, that I had not been most foully dealt with; for it was plainly admitted that he both knew and felt it. All that was *then* attempted, was to shift the odium and responsibility of this, from the then Government's shoulders to those of the Directors and of Lord Ellenborough, in consequence of his Lordship's having yielded to the Directors, when they first lugged forth the despatch, which had prevented my nomination to the Indian Council;—a despatch, the imputations on me contained in which, had on enquiry proved to be so entirely foundationless. The extract I shall give from a letter from Mr. Disraeli's friend, written as all that gentleman's letters were, under another's inspiration, will show the position *then* sought to be established. And I will simply ask whether, if these were Mr. Disraeli's

convictions, any hostile proceedings of mine on earth could justify his Government allowing me to remain a sufferer under a wrong, which he knew to be a wrong so flagrant. And this, after Lord Ellenborough had pronounced my entire exoneration from the Directors' imputations; but ceased to have any official power to follow up that exoneration, by having left the ministry. Sir William Napier indeed had expressed himself in very strong language to me, on the subject of Lord Ellenborough's not following it up, though he had left the Government, so far as to move for the papers, and expose the Directors' misconduct in Parliament; but, I confess, I did not see the matter as to that point in the same light that Sir William did*

The following is the extract of the letter of Mr. Disraeli's friend which I allude to, and which may be taken as conveying Mr. Disraeli's sentiments. It tallies entirely with what he has himself professed; and this being so, why, I ask, was the wrong to be persisted in, because I had chosen to take the line which the late Sir William Napier, one of the most honourable and high-minded men in the world, had advised me to take in reference to the publication of his letters to me? The more a man is obnoxious to a minister, the more scrupulous that minister will be, in not turning his official power to the purposes of private vengeance, provided he be a man of probity and honour. On no other principle, would life in a free state be endurable. Mr. Disraeli himself, in his letters of Runnymede, has penned the most virulent and indecent attack ever penned upon another, on the present Lord Chancellor, then Sir John Campbell; but would words be found too strong, to express the indignation even of Mr. Disraeli's bitterest enemies, if the Chancellor took the opportunity of retaliating, when Mr. Disraeli had a Chancery suit, in which his whole fortune was involved, pending before him?

Extract.—"I think you must attribute what has lately occurred, to Lord Ellenborough's weak desertion of your claims, in the first instance. His conduct afforded your enemies a precedent, and tied the hands of those who were most anxious to serve you. It put both them and you in a false position. I trace everything which has happened to Lord Ellenborough. Such a piece of moral poltroonery is not happily often witnessed, and I regret the more that it should have been exhibited in a case when there was so little excuse for the exhibitor. * * * In those very quarters which you imagine to be, if not hostile, at least indifferent, you may depend on it you have friends, who at the first opportunity will shake off Lord Ellenborough's fatal precedent, and act upon their own generous impulses, and deliberate convictions; everybody knows that you have been badly treated, and everybody knows through whose influence that treatment has been brought about."

Such, I may assume, were Mr. Disraeli's sentiments at the time; yet, because I did what did not please his fancy, his Government was to leave me foully a prey to this admitted wrong and unmerited dishonour? If that is held fitting conduct in an English minister, let it be plainly understood so; but do not let us in that case vent our abuse on those who similarly perverted their official powers in Naples. Even Bomba, I suppose, did not imprison, and torture, and murder, those he loved; the only sufferers, we may be pretty sure, were those who had angered him and whom he hated,—the "wrongheaded" people who, by "quarrelling with their friends, played into the hands of their enemies"—to quote Mr. Disraeli's words—as I dare say in the depths of their dungeons, his myrmidons often told them.

As regards the next point, my answer is very simple. Mr. Disraeli says it was at *my*,

* Extract from letter, dictated by the late Sir William Napier, in reply to mine forwarding to him a copy of Lord Ellenborough's note to me, entirely exonerating me from the Directors' imputations.—"Sir William has just received your letter. He begs me to tell you that he is disappointed at Lord Ellenborough's letter, or rather, I should say, confirmed in the opinion he has lately conceived of him. He says he thinks you have a perfect right to call upon Lord E. to expose this trick of the Directors in the House. But that his not having himself proposed to do so in this letter, gives him the measure of the man. He thinks that you should ask ——— to bring it forward in the House of Commons; as such villainy ought to be made known, and if Lord Ellenborough will not do it, others ought."

not *his*, request that our mutual introduction took place. I have characterized the statement as *untrue*; and it is not likely that any man (unless Mr. Disraeli's notions of honour are very peculiar) would be content to lie under the brand of falsehood, when he had within his reach, if the assertion were not really untrue, so ready a means of refuting me. He had only to produce my note, in which this pretended request of mine was conveyed to him, if it was conveyed by note; or the gentleman who took the message to him, if it was conveyed by message. In one only of these two ways could such a request have been made by me to him at all; because I never was in his company before, and could not, therefore, possibly have made it to him in person. The letter of the gentleman who brought *his* request to *me*, written some months afterwards on another subject, and which I have already given, will show clearly enough, as before stated, how very little *likelihood* there was of any such advance having been made by *me* to him.

Mr. Disraeli then endeavours to palm off upon the public a cock-and-bull story about seeing me as one of the "gentlemen connected with India," with whom, he says, "he was then in the daily habit of conferring." Now, whether he really was or was not, then daily in the habit of conferring with "gentlemen connected with India," I know not;—but this I do know, that I never saw any such at his house; that he never alluded to any such in his conversations with me; and that I can find no *material* trace of the promptings of any such in his speech of the 27th July, 1857. But, be the case as it may in regard to this point, the addition which I have now made to my designation, in the title page of this *Supplement*, will show exactly in what capacity he sought my aid, in preparing for his display in the House of Commons on that occasion. It was not as "a gentleman connected with India" that he applied to me for my assistance; but as the writer of *every* leading article on Indian topics, with but one or two exceptions, that had appeared in the organ he directed, the *Press*, since its first establishment; of *nearly* every review or notice of books connected with India, that had been published in the same journal within the same period; and of *all* the political articles on India which had appeared in the *New Quarterly Review*; a periodical which was edited by the then editor of the *Press*; which had been contributed to by the deceased editor of the *Press*, Mr. Coulton; and in which, as strongly supporting Mr. Disraeli and his party, Mr. Disraeli took a proportionate interest. It was in *that* capacity, and not as a "gentleman connected with India," that Mr. Disraeli sought my aid in preparing for his display in the House of Commons; and, if further proof of this be wanted, one has only to turn to my article headed "THE COMING INDIA DEBATE," in the *Press* of the 25th July, 1857, to find exactly the relation in which I stood to him on that occasion. It would have puzzled any of the "gentlemen connected with India," to write and publish an article telling all the world what Mr. Disraeli was going to say, *two days before his speech was spoken*; but, of course, there was no difficulty whatever in my doing this, having, as I have stated in the text, furnished him with all the materials out of which the speech was woven.

The point is really of no importance, beyond showing the miserable pettinesses to which men can stoop, who once enter upon the path of dishonour. Similar are his other little attempts to depreciate the man, whose services he was then so glad of. But does it not strike him, that if I am what he would now make me out to be, what must *he* be, who to serve his ends, could make such professions as are contained in his letters to me? He calls me vain; but in all the articles I have ever written, he will never find a word in praise of myself, or my services, or even my name ever mentioned. Can *he*, I should be glad to know, say as much? Yet after all, I have rendered services to the State, at least as useful as concocting sham Reform Bills, and taking charge of questions only to betray them; while as to my political writings, I shall in the next five pages proceed to give some specimens of his own commendations of them. Nor was he singular in the admiration of them which he expressed; for the late Sir William Napier I remember, once writing to me in regard to an article of mine in the *Press*, which particularly struck him, and saying what a contrast it formed to "*Mr. Disraeli's factious rubbish.*"

There remains but his assertion, that my entire statement as to my solicited labours in the *Press*, so far as he was concerned, and he had little doubt the whole Conservative party, was a mere romance;—and on that point I cannot do better than reprint the refutation of it, which has already appeared in the columns of the *Morning Advertiser*.

THE INDIAN COUNCIL—MR. DISRAELI—AND COLONEL RATHBORNE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE MORNING ADVERTISER.

SIR,—If you think the enclosed would interest your readers, perhaps you will kindly give it a place, together with this note, in your columns.

Most people will remember Mr. Disraeli's assertion, that my entire statement as to my solicited labours in the *Press*, so far as he was concerned—and he had little doubt the whole Conservative party—was a mere romance; and as this party aspires again to rule us, it will be useful to the public to have so easy a means of judging of its leader's veracity and honour.

I am, Sir, yours, &c.,

March 27th, 1861. A. B. RATHBORNE, Colonel.

MR. DISRAELI TO COLONEL RATHBORNE.

High Wycombe, August 31st, 1857.

MY DEAR COLONEL,

The *Times* is all for *vengeance* and against *discussion*.

Qy. Can you have vengeance without discussion?

e.g. It seems now pretty universally agreed, that the annexation of Oude occasioned the insurrection; all its dangers and all its horrors.

Who occasioned the annexation of Oude?

In responsibility no difference can be made between Indian and English Governments. There is only one Imperial Government.

But, in this case, we need not insist upon a point, which is, however, indubitable.

During the administration of Lord Palmerston, Lord Dalhousie annexed Oude; and when the matter was mentioned, and complained of, in the House of Commons, Mr. Vernon Smith, who had previously circulated a *Blue Book* to justify the policy, declared in Parliament that it was done with the entire approbation of the English Government, and that he was ready to defend that policy, at all times, and against all comers.

The present ministry are virtually, not merely formally, identified with the annexation of Oude.

They have, therefore, by their policy, caused all the dangers and disgrace which are now on us; all the defeats, massacres, rapes, and defilements.

If vengeance is the necessity of the nation, the first examples, as they were the prime criminals, should be Her Majesty's present advisers. I doubt whether this view of the case could be too strongly, or too frequently urged.

Excuse my troubling you with this line, which you will accept in lieu of a Sunday chat.

Yours sincerely,

D.

It might be as well to turn to Hansard of 1856, and see what was the date of the *Blue Book* issued, as nothing could be said or done till that appeared. As for this year, dissolution, &c., prevented Sir Fitzroy Kelly from bringing the motion forward.

All this in answer to V. Smith, that no one in Parliament disapproved, &c.

September 1st, 1857.

My dear Colonel,

There was one point which I omitted to mention yesterday.

Assuming that the annexation of Oude was a sagacious act, it was surely a critical experiment. Was it wise simultaneously to reduce the European forces in India, and involve ourselves in Persian wars?

There seems such a total absence of all statesman-like qualities in our Government of India at this conjuncture!

What should produce revolt and rebellion but such courses.

Yours,
D.

Hughenden Manor, September 7th, 1857.

My dear Colonel,

A capital article, and the number generally spirited.

What does the responsibility of ministers mean? Is it to be confined merely to petty acts of administration? If it apply to anything, it should surely be to a policy. Now the policy which annexes a state, is a policy of the highest class, *la haute politique*. Such a step should be well weighed and matured, as necessarily involving vast consequences.

The annexation of Oude was projected and rejected before finally adopted. The concocters, therefore, must have been aware of their critical course. We have a right to assume that it was sifted by V. Smith in his department; formally and seriously brought before the Cabinet before sanctioned. Who can doubt it? If not so, the crime is the greater. But assuming it was, the credit of the ministry, as statesmen, was staked on the venture. What is the result? And when are public men to be visited by national disapprobation, if such men, under such circumstances, are not?

Yours sincerely,
D.

Hughenden, September 16th, 1857.

My dear Colonel,

I was very much pleased, indeed, with your article, which sustained, and more than sustained, its excellent predecessor. These continuous efforts must ultimately produce effect; and it is the only means by which effect can be achieved. We must remember that the *Press* is the only journal which, at this crisis, dares speak the truth. The influence of the East India Company, in the middle classes, is immense; it is they who have pastured on the patronage of India, and not the aristocracy; and nothing but national calamity will ever counteract such corrupt influences. You have also a Government in a great scrape, trying to bully through by the aid of the *Times*.

I approve very much of the ideas sketched out in your last letter. In the present infuriate state of the public mind, we must proceed with caution, otherwise I cannot entirely repress a suspicion, that many of these details of outrage have been manufactured. The striking story of Skene, at Jhansi, his deeds of heroic romance, worthy of a Paladin, there, kissing his wife and shooting her, &c., &c., all appear now to be complete inventions. This story has produced an enormous effect in this neighbourhood, and I have no doubt stimulated the subscription, as it certainly has the warlike passions, of the people. We must remember Captain Jenkins' ears. He, I think, appeared without them at the bar of the House of Commons, and the House declared war against Spain in consequence. I forget whether he had previously lost them in the pillory or not, but he deserved to do so.

The *detail* of those stories is suspicious. Details are always a feature of the myth. The accounts are often too *graphic;* I hate the word. Who can have seen these things? The row of ladies standing with their babes in their arms to be massacred, with the elder children clutching to their robes: who that would tell these things could have escaped?

One lady says to a ruffian, "I do not ask you to spare my life, but give some water to my child." The child is, of course, cut in two before the mother immediately. Those who invented the Skene story might invent others. It was no rude hand that forged that tale of simple horror.

All this for your private ear and mind, and to relieve mine, as I do not fancy, at this moment, John Bull cares to be undeceived.

But, perhaps, while I am writing this, you will have received the new Indian Mail intelligence, which may change the colour of all your thoughts. If it have arrived, it will not reach us till to-morrow, for, though only thirty miles from town, we live in the midst of a forest, or what once was one.

Yours sincerely,
D.

Hughenden Manor, September 20th, 1857.

My dear Colonel,

I cannot permit a post to pass, without expressing to you how greatly I admire, and how entirely I approve, your labours this week; they are pre-eminent.

Yours very sincerely,
D.

Hughenden, September 23rd, 1857.

My dear Colonel,

I do not think you can write too fully, or too strongly, on the subject of your late conversation with Sir William Napier.

In a political, military, or a religious point of view, the present popular emotion in this country is equally fatal and perilous.

Yours sincerely,
D.

My direction, until Tuesday's delivery inclusive, will be Askridge Castle, Great Berkhampstead, in case you have any cause to write to me.

Askridge, Great Berkhampstead, September 27th, 1857.

My dear Colonel,

I received yours yesterday. When I presume to send you any observations, they are merely suggestions offered with the utmost deference to your own judgment, and still more to the passing incidents of the moment.

It would have been a great mistake not to have commented, as you have done most ably, on the Calcutta petition; and, very probably, by the time you receive this, you may be in possession of information which may open up quite new trains of thought and feeling.

I see that Bernal Osborne is all for razing Delhi to the ground,—the original policy of the Board of Control.

Yours sincerely,
D.

My direction, if required, till Thursday inclusive, Chichely Hall, Newport Pagnell, afterwards Hughenden.

Hughenden, October 4th, 1857.

My dear Colonel,

Your article is admirable. You have completely developed the train of thought which I touched upon very imperfectly. Indeed, I was dancing in fetters, and could

scarcely squeeze in what I contrived to do, which was very little to my satisfaction, but better than nothing. I long to make a speech on India, where "politics are admitted," but after all, the best place for that is the House of Commons.

I think your article, both as respects knowledge, correctness of view, and style, one of the best, if not the best, of leading articles I know.

The number, also, is very spirited, the third article especially, "Ministers on India," is extremely telling, and ought to be circulated throughout the country.

I heard from a source, not to be mistaken, that up to nearly the last day of the month, the ministers, with the exception of Palmerston, were quite in despair about India, especially Clarendon and Granville, from whom the *Times*, mainly by the aid of C. Greville, obtain their cue. This was the cause of the flattering tone of the *Times;* but the arrival of the Calcutta Mail changed everything, and out came the bullying article of Friday, "Mutiny, and nothing but Mutiny, as we always said," &c., &c.

They have staked all, therefore, on the next news, and if that proves disastrous,—Delhi not taken, Lucknow fallen, &c.—I should think Parliament would be called for November.

Yours sincerely,
D.

Hughenden, October 18th, 1857.

My dear Colonel,

The enclosed arrived here, yesterday. Alas! too late! Had it been Friday, I would have sent it you, instantly, by a special messenger.

If authentic, which I cannot doubt, it throws light upon the mysterious delays, and perplexed councils, of Calcutta.

I have only just been able to glance at the *Press*, with the exception of your most interesting article.

Note.—Lord John Russell, at Birmingham, has staked his credit, on the "mutiny" being extinguished before the meeting of Parliament. Lord Ellenborough does not seem to be of that opinion.

Yours sincerely,
D.

Hughenden Manor, October 26th, 1857.

My dear Colonel,

I return Sir William Napier's letter. I was very much pleased with your article. I think the catalogue of necessaries for the army very striking. It will find its way into every paper.

I rather think I shall be in town, for a few days, this week, and count much on the pleasure of having some conversation with you. I hope to get up on Wednesday, or Thursday, and will let you know directly.

Yours sincerely,
D.

Grosvenor Gate, October 30th, 1857.

My dear Colonel,

Should you be in town to-morrow, (Saturday,) I should be happy to see you here, at two o'clock. We are staying at Gunnersbury, but I shall come up in the morning, and expect to be here about one o'clock, or even twelve, which I mention, on the chance that an earlier hour than two may be convenient to you, but two I will guarantee.

Yours sincerely,
D.

Royal Hotel, Torquay, November 9th, 1857.

My dear Colonel,

I read your article in the *New Quarterly*, on my way down here, with the utmost gratification; not merely, I hope, or even principally, because you have spoken so kindly of my efforts; but, because I feel persuaded, that a general and elaborate view, of the question in the form there presented, will greatly aid, and enforce, those more frequent lucubrations which I so much admire, and which, I think, have produced a beneficial effect on public opinion. I thought your remarks, yesterday, admirable, and you just hit the nail on the head. The government, as well as the Company, must be greatly perplexed; the *Times* is frantic, and proves their alarm. I should think the financial question will bring affairs to a crisis.

It seems to me—but I jot down these remarks with sincere deference to your judgment—that the Indian question has two aspects, one of *administration*, the other of *policy*. For the first, the Company is responsible; for the last, Downing Street. The administration of India has been long condemned; and though the immediate disasters have been brought about by the policy, still, advantage should be taken of the emergency, to effect those changes in the administration which are required.

The position is this. If Parliament took the constitutional course, it would first censure the policy; and then, if the censure was successful, they should undertake a reconstruction of the administration.

I write in a room full of people, but hope I am not very obscure.

Ever yours sincerely,
D.

Friday.

My dear Colonel,

I am very anxious to see you; but, of course, very much engaged. Could you call on me to-morrow at three o'clock, or, on Sunday morning at twelve.

Yours sincerely,
D.

N.B.—On Mr. Disraeli's return to town, the "*Sunday Chats*" were resumed, which are alluded to by him in his first letter,—that is, the conversations which took place with him at his house every Sunday when he was in town, during visits made by me to him, at his request, for that purpose.

A. B. R.

OBSERVATIONS.

No one who has read my pamphlet,—*Mr. Disraeli, Colonel Rathborne, and the Council of India*, can have any difficulty in perceiving, how entirely the expressions of approval and admiration of my writings, contained in these letters, agree with those of his conveyed to me by the late Mr. Coulton, before I was personally acquainted with Mr. Disraeli (page 23 of that pamphlet); with those tendered to me by Mr. Disraeli himself at my first interview with him (page 27 of that pamphlet); and with the desire, so continually evinced by the late Mr. Coulton, by his successor in charge of the *Press*, by Mr. Disraeli himself, and by Philip Rose, on Mr. Disraeli's behalf (pages 23 to 39 of that pamphlet), to have the benefit of my services, as a writer on Indian affairs, for the Conservative party,—services, I may add, which, whether in the *Press* or in the *New Quarterly Review*, were from first to last entirely gratuitous.

And further, to see how accurately I have described the *tone* of these articles,—so *highly* landed by Mr. Disraeli,—towards the late East India Directors, his new allies, to *whose hostility I was* afterwards sacrificed, it will only be necessary to turn to the pages

of the *Press* and of the *New Quarterly*, for the period;—and more particularly to the first leader, in the *Press* of September 19th, 1857, regarding which he will be found writing to me on the 20th,—"I cannot permit a post to pass, without expressing to you how greatly I admire, and how entirely I approve, your labours, this week; they are pre-eminent;"—to the first leader in the *Press*, of the 26th of September, regarding which he will be found writing to me on the 27th,—"It would have been a great mistake not to have commented, as you have done most ably, on the Calcutta petition;"—and to the article in the *New Quarterly*, for November, 1857, headed, "The Indian Revolt," regarding which he will be found writing to me, on the 9th of that month, as follows,—"I read your article in the *New Quarterly*, on my way down here, with the utmost gratification; not merely, I hope, or even principally, because you have spoken so kindly of my efforts; but because I feel persuaded that a general and elaborate view of the question, in the form there presented, will greatly aid and enforce those more frequent lucubrations, which I so much admire, and which, I think, have produced a beneficial effect on public opinion."

A. B. RATHBORNE, COLONEL.

Such is the refutation of Mr. Disraeli's assertion on this point, which has already been published in the *Morning Advertiser*. The articles referred to I need not reproduce. Those who care to see them can have no difficulty in doing so; and they will find them on examination, to have been all that I have described them in the body of the work. "We must remember" (said Mr. Disraeli in his letter of the 16th September) "that the *Press* is the only journal which at this crisis *dares speak the truth*. The influence of the East India Company in the middle classes is immense. It is they who have pastured on the patronage of India, and not the aristocracy; and nothing but national calamity will ever counteract such corrupt influences." —Those being his sentiments, well knowing the danger I was exposed to, he cheered me on to the attack of the Directors of this Company, at a time when no other journal, according to his own account, *dared* to face them; and then left me *bravely* a prey to them and their corrupt influences, while he purchased safety for himself and his Government by the sacrifice; and by the abandonment with me, of all the great principles which, while he was out of office, we had been contending for in common! Well might a leading India Reformer, fully acquainted with all the circumstances of the case, write to me on the first appearance of this work as follows:—"I am truly delighted, to see the flagrant apostacy and dishonesty of certain Tory leaders chastised by your powerful hand, and punished by your withering exposure. You have branded these men with an indelible mark of treachery and baseness." —That such will be the general verdict I have little doubt; for such in substance, seems, to have been the verdict of all who have read the work since its first issue. Not that Mr. Disraeli will care much about that probably; for rectitude and its fancied rewards are left to children in this world's ways by such as he is;

> "At pueri ludentes, 'rex eris' aiunt,
> 'Si recte facies.'"

They follow the other path which Horace speaks of, to wealth and *honours* (?).

But all this kind of thing must have an ending; and when such acts as those I have described, can be done without entailing any consequences on men in their position, we may be sure that the body politic is rotten to the core, and that an end of some sort is not far distant. "It is an ominous sign in the life of States," (said the *London Review*, in an article in December last, headed, "*A State Trial at Berlin*,") "when the public conscience has just influence enough to bring about such ugly revelations, without any corresponding power on the part of the people, to cause the proper reward to be meted out to the guilty parties. A strong, despotic government, which can suppress the truth,

may save itself for a time from the consequences of its own misdeeds. On the other hand, a nation with free institutions, into which some foul elements may have crept, can still purify, without danger, the political atmosphere, by the aid of publicity, and the even handed dealing out of justice to the offenders. But in a country where there is just enough publicity to rouse the anger of the people against those that outrage the law, but which yet lacks sufficient popular strength to ensure their punishment—such a country, indeed, is in a chronic state of irritation, and any crisis from abroad may shake its political fabric to the base."

I have only to add a list of the official correspondence which has passed upon the subject; and which is as follows :—

With Lord Ellenborough.

Mine to the Earl of Ellenborough, President of the India Board, dated 9th or 10th of April, 1858, with enclosures; and his Lordship's note, dated 5th June, 1858, in reply. (A copy of this note was forwarded by me officially to Lord Stanley, H.M.'s Secretary of State for India, with mine of the 4th December, 1858; and again to Sir Charles Wood, H.M.'s Secretary of State for India, with mine of the 25th June, 1860.)

With Lord Stanley.

Mine to Lord Stanley, H.M.'s Secretary of State for India, dated 8th and 13th November; and 4th (with enclosures) and 22nd December, 1858; and 13th and 16th June, 1859;—the Assistant Under-Secretary of State for India's letter to me of the 16th November, 1858, with accompanying papers;—and Lord Stanley's replies.

With Sir Charles Wood.

Mine to Sir Charles Wood, H.M.'s Secretary of State for India, of the 25th June (with enclosure) and 19th July, 1860; and the Under Secretary of State for India's replies.

This last portion of the correspondence has been given by me in this *Supplement;* and the whole can be called for by any Member of the Legislature who thinks proper. It will then be seen whether the facts established by it, are not such as I have stated; and, perhaps, something further may be learned, as to the portion of it which has disappeared; and of which Sir Charles Wood states, that Lord Stanley has *not left a trace in the office.*

Note.—Since the original issue of this work, I have been informed, by the friend of mine, now a member of the English bar, to whom I have alluded, at page 79, that the case referred to by him, was not mine, but another, which occurred at Bombay, about the same period. The feeling stated by him, to have been expressed by the then judicial secretary, tallied so completely with what the latter had himself said to me, that the misconception was a very natural one, as we were conversing about my case at the time. This correction, however, so far from detracting from the weight of the argument in the text, adds greatly to its force, by showing that such gross perversions of justice were habitual. One of the most infamous things attributed to Bomba, was the instructing his lieutenant in Sicily, to set men with less tender consciences to do the work of judicial vengeance there, if he found those presiding over the ordinary tribunals to be too scrupulous for it. Yet, monstrous as this act appeared to English eyes, it will be seen it has been paralleled in the judicial administration of British India.

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